

George Washington Papers, Series 3, Subseries 3B, Varick Transcripts, Letterbook 4

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Chester, August 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have this moment received intelligence by express, that the Enemy's Fleet Yesterday morning about 8 O'Clock, Sailed out of the Capes in an Eastern course. This Surprising event gives me the greatest anxiety, and unless every possible exertion is made, may be productive of the happiest consequences to the Enemy and the most injurious to us. I have desired General Sullivan's division and the two Brigades, that left you last, immediately to return and recross the River, and shall forward on the rest of the Army with all the expedition in my power. I have also written to General Clinton requesting him instantly to reinforce you, with as many Militia of the State of New York as he can collect; and you are, on receipt of this, to send on an express to Governor Trumbull, urging it upon him to assist you, with as many of the Connecticut Militia as he can get together, and without a moments loss of time. The importance of preventing Mr. Howe's getting possession of the Highlands by a coup de main, is infinite to America, and in the present Situation of things, every effort that can be thought of must be used. The probability of his going to the Eastward is exceedingly small, and the ill effects that might attend such a step inconsiderable, in comparison with those that would inevitably attend a successful stroke upon

the Highlands. Connecticut cannot be in more danger through any channel than this, and every motive of its own interest and the general good, demand its utmost endeavours to give you effectual assistance. Govr. Trumbull will I trust be sensible of this. I am etc.¹

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

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Chester, ½ after 9 O'Clock P.M., August 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: By an Express this moment received from Cape May, The Enemy's Fleet put to Sea Yesterday Morning at Eight O'Clock and were out of sight three Hours when the Express came away. From this event it appears Genl. Howe has been practising a deep feint, merely to draw our attention and whole force to this point. I am to request, that you will countermarch the Division under your command and proceed with it, with all possible expedition, to Peek's Kill, as there is the strongest reason to believe, that the North River is their object and that they will make a rapid push to obtain possession of our posts there. The inclosed Letter for the Commanding Officer of the two Eastern Brigades which were ordered to march from Peek's Kill to reinforce this Army, you will transmit without a moment's delay. I am etc.³

1. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
3. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

City Tavern, Philadelphia, August 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: We have not received any certain intelligence that the Fleet have got within the Capes. By the last accounts they were beating in, the Wind unfavourable. It is supposed they would get in about three O'Clock, Yesterday Evening.

I would wish you to collect and bring up your rear, as soon as may be, to German Town or to proper Grounds contiguous to it, where the Troops are to remain till further orders. If they can be got on this side, the better. You will reduce the Division to a proper arrangement in all its parts, and as the Brigades arrive you will order them immediately to set about cleaning and putting their Arms in the best possible condition.

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Neither Officers or Soldiers are to be permitted to leave their Corps and come to this place. The Soldiers (not a Man is to be allowed to load); to prevent these things you'll issue the most peremptory orders. I am &ca.2

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Chester, August 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have just received information by express

2. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The awkward last sentence may be ascribed to Harrison's hurry. He had crossed out the following, which is a clearer statement: "The Soldiers must not load their Musquets nor a Man of 'em come to this City or straggle from their Corps under pain of the severest punishment."

that the Enemy's Fleet have disappeared from the Capes Yesterday morning about eight O'Clock. This unexpected event makes it necessary to reverse our disposition and I have accordingly sent Orders to Sullivan's Division and the two other Brigades on the other Side the Delaware, to return and recross the North River. You are immediately to complete your men with two days provisions and hold them in readiness to march at further Orders, and you are to give Similar directions to the other divisions and corps. You will also be pleased to give the necessary orders to the Quarter Mr. General and Commissary General respecting their departments, desiring them to make proper arrangements for provisions and forage on the route. I am etc.5

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

Chester on Delaware, 10 O'Clock P.M., August 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: By an Express this moment arrived from Cape May, The Enemy's Fleet left it Yesterday Morning at Eight O'Clock, put to Sea and were out of sight three Hours when

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the Express came away. I do not know whether you are coming on with the two Brigades ordered from Peek's Kill to reinforce this Army. If you are, I beg that you will leave the

5. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

Brigade under the direction of the next commanding Officer to return to Peek's Kill with it and repair thither yourself with all expedition. You will use every exertion in your power to call in the Militia, as soon as possible and to prevent the Enemy from effecting a Coup de main against that post and its dependencies. Genl. Sullivan is ordered to return and other reinforcements will follow immediately. I am etc.⁷

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Chester, August 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: I had proceeded thus far in order to look out for a proper place to arrange the Army, when I received the provoking account that the Enemy's Fleet left the Capes of Delaware Yesterday and Steered Eastward again. I shall return again, with the utmost expedition, to the North River; but as a sudden Stroke is certainly intended by this Manoeuvre, I beg you will immediately call in every Man of the Militia, that you possibly can to Strengthen the Highland Posts. The importance of Fort Montgomery is such, that I wish you to repair immediately to it, if you possibly can, consistent with the duties of the Office upon which you newly entered. I am etc.

7. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

P.S. A party must be still kept to secure the Entrance of the Clove.⁸

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING TWO BRIGADES ON THEIR MARCH FROM PEEKSKILL

Chester, August 1, 1777.

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Sir: I have this moment received information, that the Enemy's Fleet have left the Capes of Delaware and have Steered Eastward again. You are therefore to return immediately to Peeks Kill with the two Brigades under your Command. If you should find that the Enemy have thrown any Ships in the passage of Kings Ferry, you must proceed up to New Windsor and cross there. I am etc.⁴

To COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON

Chester, August 1, 1777.

Sir: Having received information that the Fleet have left the Capes of Delaware and steered Eastward, you are immediately upon the receipt of this to return and

8. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

4. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

keep upon your march till you reach Peeks Kill. If you find any Ships thrown into Kings Ferry Way, you are to proceed to New Windsor and cross there. I am &ca.⁶

6. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING TWO BRIGADES ON THEIR MARCH FROM PEEKSKILL

Philadelphia, August 2, 1777.

Sir: By express last Night, I informed you of my having received intelligence, that the Enemy's Fleet had left the Capes, and Sailed towards the Eastward, and in consequence thereof directed you, without losing a moment to return with the two Brigades under your Command, and rejoin Genl. Putnam. The utmost dispatch is absolutely necessary; for there is every reason to suppose the Enemy's movements will be extremely rapid, in order

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if possible, to carry the Highlands by a sudden Stroke. March back as light as you can, without any baggage, except your Tents, leaving the rest to follow. I am &ca.9

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Qurs., Philada., August 3, 1777.

Dear Sir: By an express last Night from Cape May we are informed that the Enemy's Fleet were seen again after they first disappeared, from whence some people conclude that

9. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

their going off was to gain more Sea room to weather the Shoals of Cape May, and that they will still come up Delaware. Under this uncertainty (as it is terrible to march and countermarch the Troops at this Season) you are desired to halt upon the most convenient and healthy Ground, near to the place where this shall overtake you. If you receive intelligence which you can certainly depend upon, that the Enemy's Fleet have gone into the Hook or are upon the Coast of New England, you are then to move on to Peeks Kill, without waiting any orders from me; if you are to come forward, I shall send you an express. I beg while you do halt, that you will use every means to refresh the Troops and to get their Arms into good order. I am etc.10

To BRIGADIER GENERAL PREUDHOMME DE BORRE

Head Qurs., Philadelphia, August 3, 1777.

Sir: I this day sent you orders by express, to halt wherever it should find you; and not to proceed any further towards the Delaware, until you had orders from me for that purpose; nor to return towards Peeks Kill, unless you should have certain information, that the Enemy's Fleet were arrived at the Hook, or had gone further Eastward, in which case you were to go

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10. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

back to Peek's Kill, as expeditiously as possible. Since that I have been favoured with yours of the 2d. instant from Bound Brook.

With respect to the Tory, who was tried and executed by your order, though his crime was heinous enough to deserve the fate he met with, and though I am convinced you acted in the affair with a good intention, yet I cannot but wish it had not happened. In the first place, it was a matter that did not come within the jurisdiction of martial law, and therefore the whole proceeding was irregular and illegal, and will have a tendency to excite discontent, jealousy and murmurs among the people. In the Second, if the trial could properly have been made by a Court Martial, as the Division you command is only a detachment from the Army, and you cannot have been considered as in a Seperate Department, there is none of our articles of War that will justify your inflicting a *Capital* punishment, even on a Soldier, much less a Citizen. I mention these things for your future Government, as what is past cannot be recalled. The temper of the Americans and the principles on which the present contest turns, will not countenance proceedings of this nature.

I am sorry there is such a difference between Major Mullen¹¹ and you; but I cannot with propriety consent to your dismissing him, without his having had a fair trial, and any charges alledged against him being properly proved. As he is now under arrest, you may order a

11. Thomas Mullens. He was brigade major to De Borre to Sept. 14, 1777; brigade major and aide to Maj. Gen. Thomas Conway from October, 1777, to April, 1778; brevet lieutenant colonel in June, 1778, at which time he was permitted to return to France.

General Court Martial to be held for his trial, and report the proceedings to me, on which I shall determine what appears to be just. I am &ca.¹²

To COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON

Philadelphia, August 3, 1777.

Sir: The conduct of the Enemy is distressing and

12. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

difficult to be understood. Since my last, directing you to proceed to Peek's Kill, their Fleet, or a pretty considerable part of it, has appeared off the Capes of Delaware, as we were advised yesterday by Express. In this state of uncertainty about their real object and design, I think it advisable, that you should halt your own and Colo. Ogdon's Regiments where this Letter reaches you and there remain till further orders from me, unless you should receive authentic intelligence of the Fleets coming within Sandy Hook or going farther to the Eastward; in which case, you will proceed immediately to Peek's Kill, with all the expedition you can. You will hold yourself and every thing in readiness to march on the most Sudden emergency.

If the Fleet make their appearance in Delaware, I shall inform you by express and how you are to act. Without this, you will not advance towards this place.

While you halt, you will take every measure for refreshing your Men and rendering them as comfortable as you can. Bathing themselves moderately and washing their Clothes are of infinite Service. Wherever you may march to, the first object, after your arrival should be to clean your Arms, and to have 'em put immediately in the best possible fix. I am etc.¹⁶

16. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, August 4, 1777.

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Sir: You will perceive, by the inclosed Copy of a letter from Congress, that they have destined you to the Command of the Army in the Northern Department and have directed me to order you immediately to repair to that post. I have therefore to desire you will, in persuance of their intention, proceed to the place of your destination, with all the expedition you can, and take upon you the Command of the Northern Army accordingly. Wishing you Success and that you may speedily be able to restore the face of affairs in that quarter, I am etc.²⁰

20. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The letter sent, also in Hamilton's writing, is in the New York Historical Society, and differs from the draft in minor particulars only.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, August 5, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have duly receiv'd your favor of the 23d. of July. I believe the Evacuation of Tyconderoga has dissatisfied the people in general, nor can I say, that I have as yet heard any reason, which makes such a step appear absolutely necessary to me, however, as a Strict Enquiry into the conduct of the commanding Officers is soon to take place, the public will no doubt be fully satisfied with the Determination of this Court, who will, I dare say, give the world a full and impartial account of the whole proceeding, and condemn or acquit as matters upon the fullest examination will appear to them.

I arrived here three or four days ago, persuaded by the late movements of the Enemy, and many of their ships appearing at these Capes, that they intended an attack on this City; since which their Fleet has stood out to Sea, and we can scarcely form a probable conjecture

of their next Design, upon the ships standing to Sea, I halted the Divisions of the Army wherever they happened to be from this to Peek's Kill, so that should their real intentions

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be to the Eastward, I am in hopes they will not be able to do a great deal of Damage before we can come up with them.

Your Exertions in apprehending and sending back Deserters must have a happy Effect, and I request you will continue them with unremitted Vigilance.

As it is not quite improbable that I may find it necessary to march this Army to the Eastward, I think Major Dawes had better purchase Provision for his Workmen, than draw any collected for our use; your Instructions to him will be accordingly given.

I understand the Persons you speak of are released, and are therefore at liberty to act as they see proper.³³ I am etc.³⁴

[MS. H. S.]

33. Americans taken prisoners at Quebec who had returned home on parole, some of whom wished to reenter the service.

34. In the writing of John Fitzgerald.

To COLONEL GEORGE BAYLOR

Philadelphia, August 5, 1777.

Dear Baylor: I received your favour of the 19th. July and according to your request inclose a warrant on the Pay Master in Virginia for twenty thousand Dollars; I fully expected the sum you had drawn before would have completed your Regiment.

I must urge you in the most pressing terms to use your utmost exertions and diligence in compleating your Regiment and proceeding with it without loss of time to Camp. I am etc.³⁶

To COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON

Camp at Germantown, August 6, 1777.

Sir: You will perceive, by the inclosed, which was wrote a few days ago, that you were ordered to halt, for the Reasons therein given. The letter, by mistake of the express, was carried up the Morris Town road, and as you were not to be heard of upon that route, it was brought back.

As we are still under the same uncertainty, as to the destination of the Fleet, that we were when the inclosed was wrote, you are to halt wherever this overtakes you, and let me know by return of the express where it is. You are, as before directed, to march to Peeks Kill upon receiving authentic intelligence that the Fleet have again arrived at the Hook or any where upon the Coast of New England. I am etc.⁴²

36. The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

42. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Camp near German Town, August 7, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your Favour of the 1st. instant, I received last Night; those of the 26th and 28th. Ult^o. also came safe to hand and in due order. As Congress have advised you of their inclination that you should come to Head Quarters, and as it is probable you will be on your way before this reaches you, I presume it unnecessary for me to enlarge upon the subject of your Several Letters, or to add more at this time than that, I am etc.⁵⁸

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp at German Town, August 7, 1777.

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Dear Sir: I have your favour of the 4th. instant. We are yet intirely in the dark as to the destination of the Enemy, the Fleet has neither been seen or heard of since they left the Capes of Delaware, on this day week. If they had intended back to the Hook, we must have heard of their arrival there long before this time, as the Winds have been constantly fair. As

58. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

the Sickly season has commenced to the Southward, and there is no capital object there, I cannot conceive that they are gone that way. I can therefore only conclude, that they intend to go round Long Island into the Sound, or still farther Eastward. If they do either of these, it must be upon a plan of co-operating with Genl. Burgoyne, who, as matters are going on, will find little difficulty of penetrating to Albany, for by the last accounts, our Army had fallen down to Saratoga. Congress have thought proper to call down Genl. Schuyler and Genl. St. Clair, to give an account of the Causes of our Misfortunes to the Northward and Genl. Gates goes up to take the Command. Genl. Schuyler urges the necessity of further Reinforcements, alledging that he derives no assistance from the Militia. Your post is the only one from whence a Reinforcement can immediately be sent, but as I would not wish to weaken you, as the Enemy seem to bend their course again towards you, without consulting you; I desire that you and the General Officers would consider the Matter fully, and if you think you can spare Cortland's and Livingston's Regiments, that they may be put in readiness to move. I have ordered the heavy baggage of the Army to be thrown over Delaware again and hold the Men in constant readiness to march the moment we receive any accounts of the Enemy. I very much approve of your throwing Redoubts and Obstructions at the entrance of the passes near your posts, as they, with the natural Strength of the Ground, must render

the approach of an Enemy extremely difficult without considerable loss. I am etc.59

To COLONEL DANIEL MORGAN

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Camp near German Town, August 9, 1777.

Sir: You will march to morrow morning the Corps under your Command for Maidenhead in the State of Jersey and there halt till you receive further Orders. You will take every possible care in your power, as well in your march, as during your stay at that place, to restrain every Species of licentiousness in the Soldiery and to prevent them doing the least injury to the Inhabitants or their property, as nothing can be more disserviceable to our cause, or more unworthy the character we possess, to say nothing of the injustice of the measure. I am etc.⁶⁸

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Head Qurs., Camp near Philada., August 10, 1777.

Dear Sir: I received Yesterday your favour of the 4th.

59. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

68. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, which is in the New York Public Library, is also in Harrison's writing, and varies from the above in capitalization.

I am greatly concerned at the rapid progress of Mr. Burgoyne's Army. I shall not enlarge at this time for the Reasons mentioned in my last and as it is more than probable this will meet you on your way to Head Quarters. I am etc.⁷⁴

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Qurs., near German Town, August 10, 1777.

Dear Sir: I was yesterday favoured with yours of the 1st. and 2d. instant. I am convinced if any Ships appeared off your Coast at the time you mention, that they could not have

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been the Fleet that sailed from the Hook, because *they* were off the Capes of Delaware just at that time. But I think it more than probable that you will have heard something of the Enemy before this reaches you. We have not received the least intelligence of them since they left the Capes of Delaware last Thursday was a week. Had they returned to the Hook, they must have arrived there many days ago, as the Winds have been constantly fair. The Season of the year is not only against their going Southward; but there is no object there worth their attention, and it would be leaving Genl. Burgoyne to make Head against the whole Eastern Force and the Continental Army up the North River.

74. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

My opinion therefore is, that they intend either to go round the East end of Long Island into the Sound and land in Connecticut, or stand more Eastward and make a descent upon Rhode Island or some where in Massachusetts, from either of which places they may attempt to penetrate and form a junction with Genl. Burgoyne, who is pushing down the North River with scarce any opposition.

Be the place of Genl. Howe's destination where it may, it will be impossible for the Army to be up time enough to prevent his making good his landing, but I think it will be a considerable time before he can complete his debarkation and get all things in readiness to march into the Country. I therefore must depend upon the most spirited exertions of the Militia, to give him every opposition and endeavour to retard his progress till the Continental Army can come up. That I may reach the North River quickly (should there be occasion), I have ordered this Army with all their baggage &ca. to return to the East side of Delaware. As the Garrison of Peekskill have not been upon fatigue, they will be able to march forward rapidly, while the Troops that take their places, refresh and rest themselves. As I am informed that the whole Country between the Coast and the North River, is rough and defensible, I am in hopes that we shall be able to take such a position, as with our joint forces, will prevent a junction of the two Armies

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of the Enemy should they attempt it. Should a descent be made, it will be necessary to remove all Teams and provision out of their way, as quick as possible; the Teams especially, as I am convinced General Howe will be in great want of draft Cattle, as his own must be much reduced, from the length of time which they have been on Board. I am etc.

P.S. 11th. Augt. An express overtook me last night with an Account that the Fleet were seen the 7th. instant off Sinepuxent 16 leagues to the southward of the Capes of Delaware. I have therefore halted till I have further intelligence.⁷⁵

[MS.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Qurs. near German Town, August 10, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am this day favoured with your letter of 7th. Instt. I am happy to hear that you are so far recovered, as to be able to join your Division, and expect the Regimen you propose to follow will effectually remove all your Complaints.

I have repeatedly wrote to the Clothier General respecting the Articles of his Department, particularly Shoes, and have ordered him to search the Continent, rather than let the Troops want in future. I have been informed that your

75. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Division has lately had a supply and that Colo. Antill and Major Steward were lately in Philadelphia for more, which I expected they had obtained and would be sufficient.

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As the Troops are now on their March to the Delaware, it will be in your power, without any great inconvenience, to issue orders for your paymasters to come on, with their Abstracts ready Certified &ca. that they may be paid off to the last of July.

Since the Fleet disappeared off Delaware, I have not been able to obtain the least intelligence of their Course or design, but, being almost persuaded their Operations are turned to the Eastward, I shall cross Delaware with the Army, that we may be more ready to meet them, or effect any other purpose which may present itself in a favourable light.

You will observe, in one of my Letters to Genl. D'Borre, he is ordered, in case the Enemy should appear off the Hook or in such manner, that their designs are evident to be up the North River or Sound, he should, under such Circumstances, recross the North River and join Genl. Putnam without waiting to hear from me.

From the Representation made to me respecting Brown and Murphy,⁷⁶ I then thought that it became necessary to execute one of them by way of Example, but as you are of Opinion that the necessity is in some degree removed, and from late discoveries, that there is a possibility of their not being guilty, you have my free consent to

76. Daniel Brown and John Murphy.

pardon them both, as it is my most sincere wish, that whenever we are guilty of an Error in matters of this Nature, it may be on the Side of Mercy and forgiveness.

If Major Mullen will make such Concessions to Genl. D'Borré as you deem sufficient and will be Satisfactory to him, and that he will give you Reason to beleive that he will in future be sober and attentive to his duty. I have not the least objection to your Reinstating him.

I have attended to the Information you received from the Deserters, but am of opinion that few or no Officers in Genl. Howe's Army knew his real designs before he left New York.

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I would in future call your attention, in the most particular manner, to find out the Numbers, Situation and Posts of the Enemy on Staten Island, Long Island and New York. Your surest method to effect this, will be to find out what Corps, Regiments &ca. are at such and such places, by which you will be able to form a much better Judgment of their Numbers, than from the rough guess of Spies or Deserters, who are always exceedingly Mistaken in Calculations of this kind; this I would wish to be done in such a manner and interwoven with other Queries, so as to avoid Suspicion of your real design, and when any accounts can be collected which you think may be depended on, or may serve to give me a tolerable Idea of their strength, Situation &ca., they may be communicated to me. I am etc.⁷⁷

77. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp in Bucks County, August 11, 1777

Dear Sir: I received yours of the 8th. instant at this place, I was upon the march with the Army to recross the Delaware, upon a supposition that the Fleet had certainly gone to the Eastward, but I was last Night overtaken by an Express from Philadelphia, with an account that they had been seen on the 7th. instant off Sinepuxent Inlet, about 16 leagues to the Southward of the Capes of Delaware. Upon this I have halted for further intelligence. Under the present Situation of Affairs, I can give you no better direction than to remain at your post and collect all the force that you possibly can, the Season of the Year is to be sure inconvenient for the Militia to be out, but the necessity of the Case requires that as many as possibly can, must be retained in service, for if Genl. Burgoyne persists in his advance upon our Northern Army, we must offer them support or suffer him to make himself Master of all the Country above. My last letter to you directed you to consider well, whether you could spare the two New York Regiments to Genl. Schuyler's Army. If Genl. Clinton is left upon York Island with the Number of Men you mention, it is undoubtedly for

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some other Reason than merely to keep the post. It is probably to attack you below while Burgoyne

comes down upon you. It is a matter of great consequence to ascertain that Fact. Deserters and people of that Class always speak of numbers from report, indeed scarce any person can form a Judgment, except they see the Troops paraded and can count their Divisions. But if you can by any means obtain a list of the Regiments left upon the Island, we can compute the Number of Men within a few hundreds, over or under. I beg you will use every method to come at a knowledge of this. Let your Spies be also very particular in their inquiry, whether Genl. Clinton is actually upon the Island, for an Officer of his Rank and Military Estimation would scarcely be left to keep Garrison only. It has been reported that there was a collection of Waggon and Horses making at Kingsbridge; if so, it can be for no purpose but to move out, and this therefore is another fact of which you should endeavour to know the truth. Till you are fully satisfied in the above particulars, I think you should upon no account keep any more than light parties down towards Kingsbridge, for if there is any design against your post from that Quarter, they might by a sudden embarkation and a favourable Wind, get between you and the Mountains, should you fall down with any considerable Body. I am glad to hear that Govr. Clinton has determined to resume the Command at Fort Montgomery, for there cannot be a properer man upon every account.⁸² I am etc.⁸³

82. Putnam replied to this (August 15) that he had proof of Sir Henry Clinton's being on New York Island August 3 by his sending up a flag of truce in behalf of Lieut. Edmund Palmer, who had been captured under suspicious circumstances. Putnam inclosed a copy of his reply to Clinton, which is one of the unique documents in the Revolutionary correspondence. A copy, in the writing of Putnam's aide, reads as follows:

Head Quarters, August 4, 1777.

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Edmond Palmer, an Officer in the Enemy's Service, Was taken as a Spy lurking within our lines, has been Tried as a Spy, Condemned as a Spy, and Shall be Executed as a Spy, and the Flag is ordered to depart immediately.

I. PUTNAM.

N.B. and has been accordingly Executed.

Putnam's letter and a copy of his letter to Clinton are in the *Washington Papers*.

83. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL SILAS NEWCOMB

Head Qurs., near the Cross Roads,⁸⁴ August 11, 1777.

Sir: Your favour of Yesterday from Woodbury I have this Moment received. As you have got so many of the Militia collected, I would think it highly impolitic to discharge them until we can with some degree of precision, explain the late extraordinary Movements of the Enemy, and determine the object of them. In the interim my desire is that you order your Men to Red Bank to assist in completeing the Works there [and at Fort Island]. The Officer Commanding will take orders from General De Coudray or whoever he has left there to Superintend them. The disagreeable Suspense we are now kept in, cannot possibly be of long duration, during which, your Corps will be doing a Service to their Country, at least equal to the pay they draw, which I am satisfied will be more agreeable to them than to remain idle. I am etc.⁸⁵

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Camp, 20 Miles from Philada., August 12, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have now before me your favour of the 30. Ulto.,

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84. Cross Roads later became Hartsville, Pa.

85. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald. The words within brackets are in the writing of Washington.

which only came to hand last night.

Having written you fully yesterday, I have but little to add at this time, and indeed nothing but what respects the Subject of your Request. Springfield being in the Massachusetts State, is certainly included in your Command, and you will from time to time order payment to the persons employed in the Elaboratory department, as their pay becomes due; taking care that the accounts are regularly stated and authenticated in the best manner Circumstances will admit. I would also have you to direct and order every possible, necessary aid of Teams and Waggon to be furnished, whenever they are wanted for removing and forwarding the Stores to and from thence, and to establish such regulations in that instance, as you shall judge best calculated to promote the Service.

The Stores and Elaboratory are under the management of Genl. Knox, as being more intimately connected with his Department; you will therefore, be mindful not to give any orders contrary to his or mine, as a compliance would produce confusion and in many cases derange the most necessary plans. I am &ca.87

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp, Bucks County, August 13, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have your favour of the 11th. with Copy of a

87. The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs. The letter sent is in that of Robert Hanson Harrison and is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. It varies slightly from the draft in capitalization, etc.

Library of Congress

Letter from Govr. Trumbull, by which I am pleased to find that he so readily complies with the requisition for a Body of Militia. I have a letter from Govr. Clinton, in which he informs me, that instead of five hundred Men he shall order Eight hundred to Fort Montgomery and that Neighbourhood. Mine to you of the 11th. gives you my opinion fully, as to the part you are to act in regard to sending parties down towards Kings Bridge. Genl. Clinton writes me, that his Militia are engaged to the 1st. of November; if those from Connecticut, or a sufficient number are engaged for such certain length of time, that you can depend upon their not leaving you suddenly, I think you may safely spare Livingston's and Cortlandt's Regiments to reinforce the Northern Army. If you conclude to do it, the sooner they are sent up the better. I have heard nothing more of the Fleet since I wrote to you last, only that the account of their being to the Southward seems confirmed. I am &ca.

P.S. It will probably be a satisfaction to Govr. Trumbull to know that the Fleet are to the Southward, you will therefore please to inform him.⁹²

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Camp, Bucks County, August 13, 1777.

Dear Sir: I this day received your favour of the 9th. Instt.

⁹². The draft is in the writing of trench Tilghman.

Your vigilance in providing a proper force to oppose the Enemy, and the Alacrity with which the Militia have Assembled afford me great satisfaction; if your Efforts are seasonably and Skilfully seconded by your Eastern Neighbours, we may hope that General Burgoyne will find it equally difficult to make a further progress or to effect a Retreat. You are the best Judge with respect to the length of service to be required from the Militia; however as their assistance is a Resource which must be sparingly employed I would have them detained no longer than is absolutely necessary.

Library of Congress

The excuse of Want of Confidence in General Officers, which has hitherto been alledged by the Eastern States, for withholding those Reinforcements from the Northern Army which were expected of them, will be obviated by the presence of Major Genl. Gates.

The Resolves of Congress which relate to the Recruiting of the Army will have reached you before this time, and you will have acted in consequence. By a Resolve of the 3d. August, the Commanding Officer of the Northern Department has discretionary power to make Requisitions on the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, there will be therefore a concurrence of Authority in yourself and Genl. Gates which you will arrange between yourselves. I am etc.⁹³

93. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Camp, Bucks County, August 14, 1777.

Dear Sir: I this Morning received yours of the 12th, at the same time one from Genl. Borre, by which I find Major Mullen's Behaviour has been so exceptionable that no concessions can make any amends. I am therefore obliged to confirm the Sentence of the Court Martial.⁹⁸

Upon a supposition that the Enemy had gone to the Eastward, I was upon my march further Northward, but an Express overtook me at this place, with an account that they were seen upon the 7th. instant off Sinepuxent between the Capes of Delaware and Chesapeak bearing to the Southward. They were seen again upon the 8th., nearly in the same situation. Upon this Advice I have halted till I hear something further.

In mine to you of the 10th., you were directed to issue orders to the Paymasters of your division, to come on with their abstracts ready certified that they might be paid off to the

Library of Congress

last of July. The Gentleman who wrote the letter mistook my meaning and I signed it in a hurry. My meaning was, that the Troops should be paid off for the Month of June, and that the Abstracts for the Month of July should be lodged with the Pay-

98. Major Mullens was sentenced by the court to be cashiered for insubordination and disrespect to his superior officer.

-master General, there to remain till General Orders directed the July pay to be called for. You will therefore please to let the Paymasters know how the matter stands. I shall give the Adjutant General orders to let you know when the pay for the month of July is to be drawn. I am &ca.99

[N.H.H.S.]

To COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON

Head Qurs., Camp at Cross Roads, August 14, 1777.

Sir: As you are not inconveniently situated to keep a look out upon what may be passing about King's Bridge, in New York and on Staten Island,¹ I wish you to take every method to collect the best intelligence you can of the situation of the Enemy, their Strength and Motions at those several places, and communicate the same to me. With respect to their Strength, I would not have you pay any attention to the vague calculations, that may be made by those of whom you inquire, as to the whole number at either place. If you can only ascertain, with certainty, the particular Regiments and Corps; we shall be able to estimate their numbers better by that, than by any conjectures they can form. The point to be attended to, is to find out how many and what particular corps there are at the different places.

99. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Library of Congress

1. Dayton was then at Acquakanonck, on the Passaic River, in New Jersey.

I have been informed they are collecting a large number of Waggon about Kings Bridge. This is a Circumstance of importance and which I should be glad you would take pains to find out the truth of.

I would also have you to procure and send me an exact account of the number of boats that may be collected in the neighbouring Rivers and Creeks, and the places where they are, in case they should be wanted, for any sudden secret expedition, and this should be done in such a manner, as not to make any noise, nor raise any Suspensions of what may be intended. I am &ca.2

To COLONEL THOMAS PRICE

August 14, 1777.

Sir: I am informed by Captain Eli Dorsey, appointed to a Command in your Regiment, that he has never been included in any pay abstracts, from a doubt arising, whether he could be paid, as he is a prisoner under parole. I am to request, that in your next abstract, Captain Dorsey's back pay may be included, and that in future, he may be regularly drawn for, as the other Officers are and in

2. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

the same manner, that he would, if he was at liberty to act and in service. I am, etc.3

To CAPTAIN EPHRAIM ANDERSON4

Camp in Bucks County, August 15, 1777.

Sir: You are directed to proceed from hence to Pluckemin and inquire of Colo. McDaniel by what authority he lately went to Staten Island with a Flag. I am told he produced the Copy

Library of Congress

of a permit, the original of which he said he obtained from me. As I never granted any such to him, it must be a forgery. When I was at Colo. Mehelm's,⁵ I granted a liberty to send a Flag to an old Gentleman of the Name of Porter, and another to a Lady of the Name of Leak whose Husband formerly lived at New Bromley Mills, perhaps McDaniel may have accompanied the Persons going in with one of these Flags. But he ought to know and certainly does know, that a person under his suspicious Character, and who was released at Morris Town, upon a promise that he would not go near the Enemy, had no right on any pretence to go to Staten Island. If you find he has been over, you are hereby directed and authorized to apprehend and bring him before me, to answer for his conduct. I am &c.⁶

3. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

4. The Capt. Ephraim Anderson to whom this letter is addressed is recorded by Heitman as having been killed in June, 1777.

5. Col. John Mehelm. He was commissary general of hides in New Jersey.

6. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

***To LIEUTENANTS WILLIAM BIRD, RICHARD DORSEY, JOHN CRAIG, NICHOLSON RUXTON MOORE, AND GEORGE GRAY⁷**

Camp at the Cross Roads, August 15, 1777.

Gentlemen: In answer to your respective Letters without date, but presented to me Yesterday, you will please to be in form'd

First, that the pay of the Horse Officers was fixed in December last, and at the same rates now existing, and,

Library of Congress

Secondly, that I am not conscious of ever having said, or done any thing, that cou'd lead to a belief, that the Rank of a Lieutt. of Horse was to be equal to a Captain of foot, for the obvious reasons, that neither justice, or usage, would authorize it.

How it came to pass then, that you shou'd conceive yourselves entitled to the Rank and pay of such Officer is neither my business, nor Inclination to enquire into; this however, I shall add. That if your respective application's to resign, is the effect of hasty resolutions, you may take till to morrow to reconsider and recall your Letters. But if on the other hand, you shd. then be in the same Mind, I shall be ready to receive your Commissions if they have been deliver'd, or give dismissions if they have not.

Your Wishes to resign at such a period as this

7. All of the Fourth Continental Dragoons.

after time is allowed for reconsideration) will be sufficient evidence with me, that it is a disinclination to the Service, and not the mere disappointment of Rank and Pay, that Causes it; and therefore, it may be unnecessary for me to add, that any future application from either of you to get into the Continental Service will be improper, and, as far as it is in my power to make it so, unavailing.⁸ I am etc.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Qurs., Bucks County, August 16, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have your favour of the 14th. instant. Just before it came to hand I had received the intelligence which it contained from Genl. Clinton. The people in the Northern Army seem so intimidated by the Indians that I have determined to send up Colo. Morgan's Corps of Rifle Men who will fight them in their own way. They march from Trenton to morrow Morning and will reach Peek's Kill with all expedition. You will please to have sloop's ready to carry them and provision laid in, that they may not wait a moment. The

Library of Congress

Corps consists of Five hundred Men. Be pleased to let me have an exact return of your numbers, both Continental and Provincial, that I may form a Judgment of the

8. See Washington's letter to the same officers, Aug. 17, 1777, *post*.

propriety of detaching any more force to the Northward. Remark to what time your Provincials are engaged. I am etc.

P.S. 500. is the true Strength of Morgan's Corps, but it will answer a good purpose if you give out they are double that number.¹⁰

To COLONEL DANIEL MORGAN

Neshamini Camp, August 16, 1777.

Sir: After you receive this, you will march with the Corps under your Command, as soon as possible, to Peek's Kill, taking with you all the baggage belonging to it. When you arrive there, you will take directions from Genl. Putnam, who, I expect, will have Vessels provided to carry you to Albany. The approach of the Enemy, in that Quarter, has made a further reinforcement necessary, and I know of no Corps so likely to check their progress in proportion to their number, as the one you Command. I have great dependance on you, your Officers and Men, and am firmly persuaded, you will do honor to yourselves and essential Service to your Country.

I expect that your Corps have been paid to the last of June. But as you are going on this Command and

10. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and Richard Kidder Meade.

they may have occasion for more Money, you will make out an Estimate, as well as you can, of the sum due them for the Month of July, and send an Officer with it, to whom it

Library of Congress

shall be paid. I do not mean to exclude the Corps from their pay in June. If that has not been paid, include it in the Estimate.

I have nothing further to add, but my best Wishes for your Success. I am etc.¹¹

11. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, also in Harrison's writing, is in the New York Public Library; it varies from the draft in minor verbal particulars.

To LIEUTENANTS WILLIAM BIRD, RICHARD DORSEY, JOHN CRAIG, NICHOLAS RUXTON MOORE AND GEORGE GRAY

Head Qurs., near Cross Roads, August 17, 1777.

Gentlemen: I have just received your Letter of this date with the inclosed Certificates justifying your pretentions to the Rank you mention. I must repeat to you, that I am entirely ignorant of the means by which such an Idea was propagated; nor did I ever see any Reason why superior Rank should be given to Officers of Cavalry but where Commissions are equal, the Commands should be ascertained by priority of date.

I shall never wish to influence any Gentlemen to serve in this Army, if I have Reason to believe they cannot do it consistent with that strict notion of Honour, which should be the invariable rule of conduct for every Officer, but am of opinion, nevertheless, that a Resignation in this part of a Campaign can only be warranted by treatment, which would be disgraceful to bear, and therefore that your Resolution not to resign, at least, till the end of the Campaign must meet the approbation of all who wish to see you act with propriety. I am etc.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Qurs., Bucks County, August 18, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have yours of the 15th. As it appeared clearly

Library of Congress

from the account sent out by the Enemy, that Palmer was really an Officer of theirs, he deservedly suffered for being found lurking about our posts, and was a Spy in the truest sense of the word.

I am Surprised at the conduct of the Militia of Connecticut, who, because they find no Enemy directly at their own doors, refuse to stay and assist their Neighbours. They do not consider, that the Northern Army cannot be reinforced and the State of New York saved without they will consent to Garrison Peaks Kill. I therefore desire, that you will inform Govr. Trumbull of these circumstances, and call upon him for a certain number of Militia to continue in Service for three Months at least, that we may know what we have to depend upon. I cannot by any means consent to Genl. Sullivan's Division returning to Peaks Kill, while Genl. Howe's destination remains a secret. If he is gone Southward, which now seems probable, that division is absolutely necessary to this Army, to enable us to give him proper opposition.

The Paymaster General shall be informed of the want of Cash in your department.

I desire you will keep, as many of the Militia as possible, till they are releived in a regular manner; those that come out, should at least remain as long as the Militia of New York who have been more harrassed and have more reason to complain on every account, than any upon the Continent. I am etc.

P.S. When any deserters come out from the British Army they have been paid four dollars, and if they bring out their Arms ten dollars more for them. Be pleased in future to pay those Sums and certify upon their passes that they have been paid, otherwise they claim it again.

To BARON DE HOLTZENDORFF33

Head Qurs., Camp at Cross Roads, August 18, 1777.

Library of Congress

Sir: I have the pleasure of your favour of the transmitting me the plan of a military work, which you propose to publish, and requesting my protection of the same.³⁴ As I have not seen the work, I cannot undertake to determine what degree of merit it may have a claim to; but if it be well executed upon the plan you exhibit, the few good books we have circulating in this Country on the Military art, afford a favourable prospect of the publication being attended with success and utility. I shall be happy to give it all the encouragement in my power and to find that the event may answer your expectations. You do not mention whether you intend to publish in the French or in the English language. You must be sensible that the Work will be more generally useful and have a much more extensive circulation in the one than in the other. I doubt not, before you commit it to the press, you will consult

33. One of the officers sent over by Deane.

34. The baron's letter to Washington, dated August 16, and his "Prospector Essay General sur La Tactique Prussienne orné du Planches" are in the *Washington Papers*.

with your friends and make yourself acquainted with every Circumstance necessary to be taken into consideration, that you may be the less liable to disappointment, in whatever advantages you may expect will be derived from it.

I inclose you a letter to General Greene, informing him that I have attached you to his division, and that you are to do duty as Lieutenant Colonel, in the general roster of that division. I am etc.³⁵

To CAPTAIN THOMAS NELSON, JUNIOR

Neshamini Camp, August 18, 1777.

Sir: I have been favoured with your Letter of the 7th. Instt. You plead so powerfully and urge so many reasons to leave the Army, that I cannot refuse your request. The principle

Library of Congress

cause of your Application, however, you have not explicitly stated, but yet I presume my conjectures respecting it, are just and right. I suppose it is your marriage with Miss Cary. You will be pleased to accept my best wishes for your mutual happiness, and to make a tender of my Compliments to your Father and Friends upon the occasion. I am &ca.36

35. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

36. The copy is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, said to be an A. L. S., is now in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society, A copy, signed by Washington, was in the possession of a dealer in 1890, and Toner notes that it had, interlined in the writing of Washington, after the word "request": "Although it is with regret I see a Gentleman go out of it."

To CAPTAIN VAN SWEARINGEN³⁷

Head Qutrs., Bucks County, August 18, 1777.

Sir: It being represented, that several of the men in a Detachment under your Command, as Captain from the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, which composes part of the Corps commanded by Colo. Daniel Morgan, made up of Detachments from Several Regiments, have claims against the United States for Horses and other necessities furnished the said Regiment, for which they have received no satisfaction; Also, that you and the Officers under you, in the said Detachment, have charges of the like nature and for money advanced some privates of the said Regiment, who have died, been killed, or taken prisoners. And it being impracticable at this time, to examine and adjust the said Claims, as the said Corps Commanded by Colo. Morgan is under orders to march and join the Northern Army. These are to authorize and require you, to state and Settle the said Claims before Colo. Morgan, Lieutt. Colo. Butler and Major Morris, or any two of them, who are empowered to liquidate the same, producing to them such Vouchers, as you are possessed of, and making such proofs to the Account, as may be deemed necessary;

Library of Congress

Which being done and Certified under the Hands of them, or any two of them, you will advance, of your own Money, to your Officers and Men such Sums, as shall appear to

37. Of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, He was wounded and taken prisoner at Stillwater, N.Y., on September 19; resigned in August, 1779; captain of Kentucky Militia in 1791; killed at St. Clair's defeat on November 4 of that year.

be due them on the said Settlement. And I do hereby agree, on behalf of the United States of America, that the Money so advanced, with what shall appear on the said Settlement to be due yourself, shall be paid to you or your Order.³⁸

To BRIGADIER GENERAL PREUDHOMME DE BORRE

Cross Roads, August 19, 1777.

Sir: I have received your favour of the 17th., by which I perceive you are inclined, in preference to have an American Gentleman appointed to the office of your Brigade Major, and for that purpose have recommended Captn. McConnell⁴² of Colo. Hazen's Regiment, to my approbation. My only reasons for mentioning what I did in my last, were, that I thought it might be more agreeable to you, to have one of your own Countrymen in your family, and that it would be a means of giving a handsome employment, to some one of those French Gentlemen of merit, who are Commissioned in our Army, without being attached to any particular Service. But as I find you are otherwise inclined, I have not the least objection to your pursuing your inclination in the appoint-

38. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

42. Capt. Matthew McConnell, of the Second Canadian Regiment. He was appointed brigade major by de Borre; wounded and taken prisoner at the Battle of Brandywine; transferred to the Invalid Regiment in February, 1781, and served to close of the war.

-ment of Captn. McConnell. I am etc.⁴³

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

Neshamini Camp, August 19, 1777.

Sir: I wish thro' you, Sir, to return my thanks to the Pennsylvania Officers, who subscribed the Memorial you delivered me a few days since, for the obliging Sentiments they are pleased to entertain of me. At the same time, you will inform them, that I am fully sensible of the justice, in which they Complain respecting the exorbitant price of Goods and necessaries is founded, and that I painfully foresee the disagreeable consequences the measure leads to. My wishes are, that the abuse of which they complain, should be restrained, but I know not how it is to be effected. I have represented the matter to the Congress, and have the most implicit confidence, that they will adopt any means that are practicable, to remedy the evil. They feel it sensibly, and it is felt by all; but a mode of redress, I fear, will be difficult to find, as it has ever been in instances of a like nature. I am not sanguine in my expectations, that they will remove the grievances totally, yet I should hope that it may be done in part, thro' their deliberations

43. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

and the interposition of the Legislative and Executive powers in the Several States. I can only assure the Gentlemen, I shall ever be happy in affording my exertions to suppress any public abuses, so far as shall be compatible with my Situation; more, I am persuaded, they will never wish or expect of me.

I have also laid the Subject of Rations before the Congress, and doubt not, but it will have their early Attention. This you will in like manner communicate to the Gentlemen.

In respect to the period, from which the augmented

Library of Congress

pay is to be drawn, the line has been already settled by Congress. They determined, that the Officers appointed to serve in the present Army, should receive it from the time of their Appointments by their respective States. In conformity to this Rule, they have been paid without deviation, that I recollect. If there are any who have not, it has been owing to their own Omissions, or if the augmented pay has been extended in any case to a remoter period for its commencement, it escaped my observation. I would also add, that if this Resolution had not been passed, I should not have considered myself authorized to grant Warrants for the augmented pay of any time preceding the 1st. of January; conceiving, that the old would have continued till the last of December, that being the day when the Service of the late Army generally expired, and that the augmented pay was intended for the new. I am etc.

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Qurs., Bucks County, August 20, 1777.

Sir: By a Letter from Genl. Schuyler of 13th. Instt. it appears that you had not reached Still Water at that time, since which I have not had any Accounts from you but expect you had arrived there soon after that date. From the various representations made to me of the disadvantage the Army lay under, particularly the Militia, from an apprehension of the Indian mode of Fighting, I have dispatched Colo. Morgan with his Corps of Rifle Men to your Assistance, and expect they will be with you in 8 days from this date. This Corps I have great dependance on, and have no doubt but they will be exceedingly useful, as a check given to the Savages and keeping them within proper Bounds, will prevent Genl. Burgoyne from getting Intelligence as formerly, and animate your other Troops from a sense of their being more on an equality with the Enemy.⁵⁴ Cols. Cortlandt and Livingstons Regiments are also on their way from Peek's Kill to join you, they must of course be with you in a very few days, with these Reinforcements,

Library of Congress

54. Gates joined the army at Van Schaick's Island, at the junction of the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers, 9 miles north of Albany, August 19, which was after the victories had been won at Oriskany and Bennington. He wrote to Washington on the 22d.: "I cannot sufficiently thank Your Excellency for sending Col. Morgan's Corps to this Army, they will be of the greatest Service to it; for until the late Success this Way, I am told, the Army were quite Panic Struck by the Indians, and their Tory and Canadian assassins, in Indian Dress." Gates's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

besides the Militia under Genl. Lincoln (which by this time must be pretty considerable) I am in hopes you will find yourself at least equal to stop the progress of Mr. Burgoyne and by cutting of his supplies of Provision &ca. to render his Situation very ineligible.

Since the Enemy's Fleet was seen off Sinepuxent the 8th. Instt. we have no Accounts from them which can be depended on. I am now of Opinion that Charles Town is the present object of Genl. Howe's attention, though for what *Sufficient* reason, unless he expected to drag this Army after him by appearing at different places, and thereby leave the Country open for Genl. Clinton to march out and endeavour to form a Junction with Genl. Burgoyne, I am at a loss to determine.

General Schuyler's sending a Reinforcement up to Fort Schuyler I think was absolutely necessary, and I am of opinion that particular attention should be paid to the Inroads leading to that Quarter, as a Successful Stroke of the Enemy there, might be a means of encouraging the whole of the Six Nations to unite against us. I am etc.⁵⁵

55. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald. The letter sent, which is in the New York Historical Society, is also in Fitzgerald's writing. It varies from the above draft in capitalization and other minor particulars.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Library of Congress

Camp in Bucks County, August 20, 1777.

Sir: I was yesterday favoured with yours of the 15th. by Captn. Cosden.⁵⁶ I am sorry to hear that you did not find your Brigade in that order, as to discipline &ca. that you could have wished, but I hope your attention to it in person will soon work the necessary reform.

I most sincerely wish that the Success of the recruiting Service had been such, that all our Brigades would have made a more respectable figure. In arranging the Army at the commencement of the Campaign, I endeavoured to make the Brigades, as equal as possible in point of numbers, some have out grown others by the increase of the Strength of particular Regiments, and that is the Reason why Genl. De Borre's exceeds yours, Hazens Regiment having increased considerably. In Brigading the Army, I went by the following Rule; I distributed the Regiments according to their Ranks, for instance, if the Regiments of any particular State were Sufficient to form three Brigades, I gave the 1st. Regiment to the 1st. Brigade, the 2d. to the 2d. and the 3d. to the 3d., and the intermediate ones in same proportion. But when ever a Colonel was promoted to the Rank of Brigadier General, I made it an invariable Rule to take the Regiment which he had formerly commanded out of his Brigade, thereby to

56. Capt. Jesse Corden (Cosden, Cozden), of the Fifth Maryland Regiment. He resigned in December, 1777.

prevent all imputation of partiality from being made by the Officers of the other Regiments in the Brigade, for I know it is very natural for an Officer to have a strong affection for the Corps which he has commanded.

It is very uncertain whether our movement will be Northward or Southward, and therefore would not yet determine whether the detachment of the 5th. Maryland Regiment shall immediately join the Main Body in Sussex County. If matters should so turn out, that you

Library of Congress

are ordered to march Northward, you may then send back the detachment to join the Regiment, if we move Southward they will probably join of course.

I very much approve of your sending back a good Officer to pick up your sick and Straglers, and if you can cut off any of the numberless and useless Horses that attend our Army you will render a most essential piece of Service to the public and set an example that will do you Honour. The destruction that is made by them of inclosures, Grass and Grain is intolerable and is the cause of universal Complaint among the Inhabitants.

I have ever been very cautious of granting permissions to persons, who have been long resident, to go into New York, because their observations may do us great injury. But if you think Mr. Smith⁵⁷ is a person who leaves the Country on Account of his business and not as an Enemy

57. mith was a factor for the Glasgow firm of John Glassford & Co.

to us, I will not refuse your request. You must lay him under injunctions, not to disclose any matters that may come under his observation on his journey, and when he arrives at Philadelphia, if he will write me a line, I will grant him a passport and point out his Route, that he may not fall in with any of our principal posts. I am &ca.⁵⁸

To WILLIAM BUCHANAN⁵⁹

Neshamini Camp, August 20, 1777.

Sir: I have been favoured with your Letter of the 18th. In respect to the Subject of it I can only inform you, that it is necessary, there should always be a Sufficient Quantity of Spirits with the Army, to furnish moderate Supplies to the Troops. In many instances, such as when they are marching in hot or Cold weather, in Camp in Wet, on fatigue or in Working Parties, it is so essential, that it is not to be dispensed with. I should be happy, if the exorbitant price, to which it has risen, could be reduced; but if you have not a proper stock

Library of Congress

within your Command, from whence supplies necessary may be drawn, I cannot think of authorizing, by my consent, any Experiment, which can possibly injure the Troops. You are the

58. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

59. Commissary General of Purchases of the Continental Army.

best judge of the Quantity there is in Store and the certainty you have of getting it seasonably to the Army and of consequence most able to determine the propriety of purchasing more or not.

The case of the Sutlers deserves attention, and I am informed, Regulations have been come into in One Division of the Army, that will restrain their exactions or oblige them to quit their business. I am etc.⁶⁰

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Camp in Bucks County, August 21, 1777.

Dear Sir: I was a few days ago favoured with yours of the 13th. and Yesterday with that of the 15th. I immediately forwarded the letter to Congress, who I dare say will be satisfied with your Reasons for remaining some little time at Albany for the purposes you mention.

I do not know that any particular Charges are exhibited against you, or in what way Congress intend to take the matter up; I observe by their Resolves of the 29th July that, "an inquiry be made into the Reasons of the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence and

60. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Library of Congress

into the Conduct of the General Officers who were in the Northern department at the time of the evacuation. And that a Committee be appointed to digest and report the mode of conducting the inquiry." Whether it is to be made by Congress themselves or whether they intend it shall be done by a Court of General Officers, I will not undertake to say.

I am pleased with the account you transmit of the situation of matters upon the Mohawk River, if the Militia keep up their Spirits after their late severe Skirmish, I am confident they will, with the assistance of the Reinforcement under Genl. Arnold, be enabled to raise the seige of Fort Schuyler, which will be a most important matter just at this time. I am &ca.61

61. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To COLONEL GEORGE GIBSON

Neshamini Camp, Bucks County, August 21, 1777.

Sir: Having received a Letter this afternoon from the Honble. John Page Esqr., advising that a Fleet of Ships was off the Capes of Virginia, on the 14th. Instt. and appeared to be standing in, you are to remain at Alexandria, with the Regiment under your command, subject to the further Orders of Congress, The Honble. Council of Virginia or Myself. I am etc.62

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Qurs., Bucks County, August 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: By the inclosed, which is this Moment come to hand, you will perceive that the Enemy's Fleet have at length fairly entered Chesapeak Bay; Swan point being at least 200 Miles up. I desire you will immediately forward this Account to Govr. Trumbull, to be by him sent on the Eastward. As there is not now the least danger of General Howes going to New England, I hope the whole Force of that Country will turn out, and by following the

Library of Congress

62. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

great stroke struck by Genl. Stark near Bennington, intirely crush Genl. Burgoyne, who by his letter to Colo. Baum seems to be in want of almost every thing. I hope you will draw in such a Force of Militia, as will effectually secure your post against any attempt from New York. I shall be obliged to draw Genl. Sullivan with his division down to me; for by General Howe's coming so far up Chesapeak, he must mean to reach Philadelphia by that Route, tho' to be sure it is a very strange one. I am &ca.77

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Neshamini Camp, Bucks County, August 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: By an Express this Minute come to hand from Congress, we are informed, Genl. Howe's Fleet is arrived in Chesapeak Bay, and are high up in the North East part of it. I have inclosed a Copy of the dispatches upon the Subject, to which I refer you. You will immediately march with your Division and join this Army, proceeding with all convenient expedition, but not in such a Manner as to injure the Troops. You will cross the Delaware at Coryell's Ferry and avoid Philadelphia in your march

77. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

down; You will be under a necessity of passing near it, but I would wish you not to halt so near it, that the Troops can straggle into the City. I am etc.

P. S. The inclosed Letter for Colo. Dayton, you will send him by Express. I was this day favoured with two of your Letters. The Subject respecting your Brother, Captain Sullivan, is now before Congress. Two or three days ago, I refered it to them a second time.78

Library of Congress

78. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, which is also in Harrison's writing, is in the New Hampshire Historical Society. It varies in spelling and capitalization from the above draft.

To COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON

Head Qurs., Neshamini, August 22, 1777.

Sir: You are immediately upon receipt of this to march your Regiment and Colonel Ogdens with all their Baggage by way of Trenton to join your Brigade. You will make all convenient haste on the march, and it is probable that you will fall in with the Brigade at Philadelphia or somewhere below that place. I am etc.⁸⁰

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Camp, 3 Miles from Philadelphia, August 23, 1777.

Sir: On the march to day I was honoured with a Letter from Congress transmitting Sundry Resolutions⁹³ for calling out reinforcements of Militia, to repel the threatned invasion by the Enemy, who have arrived high up in

⁸⁰. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

⁹³. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Aug. 22, 1777.

the North East part of Chesapeak Bay. Such as respect the Militia of Maryland and which make the Subject of this Letter, you will find inclosed. I request, that immediately after receipt of them, you will communicate the Contents to Colonel Gist and that you and he repair to Maryland without loss of time, for the purposes therein mentioned. I need not urge the necessity of expedition upon this interesting occasion and flatter myself nothing in

Library of Congress

either of your powers, will be omitted to answer the views of Congress in this instance and the important calls of the States at large at this crisis. I am etc.⁹⁴

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG

Wilmington, 6 o'Clock P.M., August 25, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have just received information, that the Enemy began to land this Morning about Six Miles below Head of Elk opposite to Cecil Court House. The informant says he saw two thousand Men, but he may be mistaken as to the Number. I desire you to send off every Man of the Militia under your command, that is properly armed, as quick as possible, if they were to begin their

⁹⁴. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

march this night while it is cool, it will be the better. They are to proceed to Wilmington, where they will receive orders for their destination.

I desire you will immediately send for Genl. Potter, and give him directions to come on to me with all possible expedition, you must supply his place in the best manner you can. The first attempts of the Enemy, will be to seize Horses, Carriages and Cattle with light parties and we must endeavour to check them at their outset. Whatever Militia are at Philadelphia, and equipped should be ordered down immediately. I am &ca.⁹⁵

To BRIGADIER GENERAL FRANCIS NASH

Chester, August 25, 1777.

Sir: This will be handed to you upon your arrival in this Town. It is my desire that you make no delay here, but proceed with all convenient dispatch to Wilmington. If from the Intelligence you receive here, you have reason to conclude there is no danger in going

Library of Congress

by Water it will be your best and easiest mode of Conveyance, taking with you a Person, whose knowledge of the Water can be depended on.

95. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

At Wilmington you will receive my further Orders. Colo. Proctor's Corps of Artillery continues with you.

General Dickinson just informs me, that you could not procure Boats at Trenton. You will therefore continue your march as above directed. I am &ca.96

To COLONEL GEORGE BAYLOR

Wilmington, August 25, 1777.

Dear Baylor: I received your Letter of the 18th by this days post. I have never doubted of your assiduity and industry to raise your Regiment, and am but too well satisfied of the difficulties you have met with. I wish you to come on, with Such Men as you have ready, and that you will leave proper Officers to recruit the Troop you mention to be deficient, and also the Remainder of the Regiment, if you think there is a probability of doing it.

The Fleet are laying in Elk River, and by an Express received this Evening, the Troops were landing on the West side this Morning. As matters are thus circumstanced, I think, the upper Road should be your Route. I am &ca.97

96. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

97. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, who added the following postscript from himself: "My Good Friend—I give you joy from the Bottom of my Heart on Account of the late fortunate and Signal stroke given by *Old Stark*, and also on the threshing the Enemy got at Fort Schuyler. There was a cloud in the North, but I really think matters in that Quarter look well just now. I trust Burgoyne will be severely mauled. It is likely we shall

Library of Congress

have hot work in this Neighbourhood 'ere long. I wish it most cordially, for I flatter myself, Mr. Howe will be hard run. Farewel, Yrs. R. H. Harrison.” The letter was furnished from the collection of Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J.

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Wilmington, August 27, 1777.

Sir: I have received your two favours both of the 24th. informing me of the particulars of an expedition you have lately made to Staten Island.²

It is unfortunate, that an affair which had so prosperous a beginning should have terminated so disagreeably, as in a great measure to defeat the good consequences that might have attended it. I am however, glad to hear, that the Officers and Men distinguished themselves by their good behaviour; and if there are any who behaved more remarkably well, than others, I should be happy to take all the notice of them, consistent with propriety, that their conduct may appear to merit. I am not sufficiently acquainted with circumstances to form a certain judgment, of what might have been expected from this expedition; but from the view I have of them, and from your own representation of the matter, the situation of the Enemy seems to have been such, as afforded an opportunity of reaping much more decisive advantages, than were in fact gained.

As your division must no doubt have been greatly harrassed in this movement, their health might be very much injured by pressing them too hard in their march to join me. I would therefore wish you to spare them, as much

2. See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Aug. 25, 1777, *ante*.

as may be necessary to avoid that inconvenience; at the same time, there ought to be no delay but what a proper attention to the health and accommodation of the Men really demands. I am &ca.³

To BRIGADIER GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Wilmington, August 27, 1777.

Dear Sir: I was favoured with your Letter Yesterday by Mr. Hindman. The measure you recommend respecting the Militia is extremely necessary and what I much wish to be done. It came under the consideration of Congress when the Fleet first came up the Bay and dispatches were sent by their Order to Genl. Smallwood and Colo. Gist to repair to Maryland to command them, at least the Quota called for by Congress. I expect these Gentlemen are now on their way for this command, but I shall be extremely obliged to you and Genl. Cadwallader, if in the mean time you will give your advice and assistance about forming and arranging such as may assemble previous to their arrival. Your interesting yourself upon the occasion, I think will be well accepted and may be attended with happy effects. I am etc.⁴

3. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

4. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To COLONEL GEORGE EVANS⁷

Wilmington, August 27, 1777.

Sir: After the men of your own, Colo. Hunters and Colo. Udree's⁸ Battalions have refreshed themselves you are to march them to Christiana Bridge and there halt till further orders.

You are to get your Men as well covered, as the Situation of the place will admit of, and always keep them near their quarters, that they may be ready to move at a moments warning.

Library of Congress

As most of the Men in this County have left their families at home and turned out in a spirited manner in defence of their Country, it is hoped that the Troops under your command will not in the least injure their property, by destroying their Fences, Corn, or Fruit. I am &ca.

P.S. Your Ammunition is to be inspected, to see if injured by the Rain, and the Arms kept in good order.⁹

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN CADWALADER

Wilmington, August 28, 1777.

Dear Sir: General Howe has advanced part of his Force

7. Of a Delaware Militia regiment.

8. Col. Daniel Udree, of the Pennsylvania Militia.

9. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

about two Miles this side the Head of Elk and from the information of deserters and prisoners, there is reason to beleive he is either marching or soon will be, towards Philadelphia. If that is his object, and of which there can be but little doubt, I think many important advantages would be derived from the Militia's hanging on his Rear or Right flank, after he leaves Elk, while he is opposed by this Army in front or in such other way, as shall seem most advisable from circumstances. But then, I am wholly at a loss to whom to address myself respecting the Militia on the Eastern Shore, not knowing their Officers or where they are Assembled. The Congress thought proper to point out Genl. Smallwood and Colo. Gist to arrange and conduct them; who, owing I suppose to a miscarriage of the dispatches that were sent them, have not yet reached this place, nor have I heard any thing of them. Matters being thus circumstanced, and as the aid of the Militia is extremely

Library of Congress

necessary and no time is to be lost in obtaining it, I must request your Good Offices and interest in assisting to assemble, spirit up and forward them in the best manner you can, towards the Head of the Bay, that they may be in a situation to annoy the Enemy, should they make a push against Philadelphia, giving such advice and direction to the Officers as shall appear to you necessary and proper. I know well, that

your situation in this instance will be delicate and not a little embarrassing, I feel myself in that predicament; Yet, I trust, the exigency of our Affairs will not only furnish an Apology, but will fully justify your interesting yourself upon the Subject. For the requisition I have made, I shall offer no Apology. It is the result of necessity and founded in the most implicit confidence, that you are and will be ready upon all occasions to afford every aid in your power to advance the true interest and happiness of your Country. Influenced by these considerations, I have made it, and have only to add, that I am etc.¹⁵

P.S. Several deserters have come in to day and our parties made between thirty and forty prisoners.

To COLONEL JOHN D. THOMPSON¹⁰

Head Qrs., Wilmington, August 28, 1777.

Sir: I have your favour of Yesterday by Lieutt. Veary¹¹ and it gives me pleasure to hear that your people are so unanimously bent upon giving opposition to the Enemy. I wish it was in my power to furnish every man with a firelock that is willing to use one, but that is so far from being the Case that I have scarcely Sufficient for the Continental Troops.¹² As it is needless to keep Men together without Arms, I would advise you to collect as many Arms as

^{15.} The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, which is also in Harrison's writing, is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It varies from the above

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draft in spelling and capitalization and contains the P.S., which does not appear in the draft.

10. Of the Maryland Militia.

11. Lieut. William Veary, of the Maryland Militia. Johnston's *Campaign of 1776* states that Capt. Edward Veazy, of an Eastern Shore independent company, was present in this campaign.

12. This same day Tilghman wrote to Col. Benjamin Flower, ordering him, by Washington's direction, to forward from 500 to 1,000 muskets "as the bad weather has damaged aged many of late and there is no getting them put in order here with any expedition." Also, Harrison wrote to Flower to forward all the rifles in store, complaining that many of the cartridges Flower sent were too small for the bore of their muskets. "All belonging to the public are of the French and English bores and the Cartridges must be made to fit those sizes. If you have any 16 and 18 (Viz: Cartridges which require so many to the pound) now ready you are to transmit them without a Moments delay." The letters of Tilghman and Harrison are in the *Washington Papers*.

you possibly can and then class your Battalion; let the unarmed go home and at a certain period relieve their Companions. It is to be wished, that every Man could bring a good Musket and Bayonet into the field, but in times like the present, we must make the best shift we can, and I wou'd therefore advise you to exhort every Man to bring the best he has. A good fowling Piece will do execution in the hands of a Marksman.

As the Congress have ordered clown Genl. Smallwood and Colo. Gist, to arrange the Militia of Maryland, they ought to be drawn together at some certain place, that these Gentlemen may meet them embodied and the more readily form a disposition. The Militia of Kent and below it, will Assemble at George Town and the Head of Sarsafra, from whence I shall advise parties to be sent down into Sarsafra Neck, to prevent the

Library of Congress

disaffected inhabitants from Trading with the Enemy and supplying them with Stock &ca. I think yours had as well assemble at the Head of Bohemia,¹³ or any other place that you may think more convenient, from whence you may keep small parties along shore under intelligent Officers, not only to keep Boats from landing, but to observe the motions of the Enemy. Horses and Cattle, but Horses in particular should be removed from the Shores, and for this purpose some of the unarmed may be employed.

The intent of Assembling the Militia of Maryland near the Head of the Bay, is to be ready, to fall in upon the

13. Bohemia Manor, Delaware.

Rear of the Enemy shou'd, they move towards Philadelphia and to answer this end, I think they should be advanced as far as New Castle, from whence the distance to the Head of Elk is but short. If they cou'd cross Elk river, the Heads of Sarsafra and Bohemia would not be inconvenient, but you may depend that the Enemy will throw Vessels in the way to prevent the passage and oblige you to march round by land. I am etc.¹⁴

14. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

½ after 8 OClock P.M., August 30, 1777.

Sir: It seems to be the Opinion of several of the prisoners and also of the deserters that have lately come out, that the Enemy intend to move to morrow morning. How well founded this Idea may be, I cannot tell, but I thought it right to communicate it to you, that you may be watchful and guarded on all the Roads.

It will be well to place some of your Men at the pass on the Road which has been represented to be so advantageous, attending at the same time to the rest. If the Enemy come on, they will be well posted and may have an Opportunity of annoying them greatly.

Library of Congress

If otherwise, their being there will do no harm. They should be directed to lie quiet and still, and ought to be posted early to night, as the Enemy will most probably move, if they do at all, between two and three O'Clock. I am etc.¹⁹

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Wilmington, August 30, 1777.

Sir: In consequence of the directions of Congress,

19. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

I wrote you on the 23d Instt. by Express, requesting you and Colo. M. Gist to repair immediately to Maryland, to arrange, march and conduct the Militia of that State, which Congress had called for, Twelve Hundred and Fifty of which were to Assemble at Baltimore and at Hartford Towns, and Seven hundred and fifty more at George Town on the Eastern Shore, according to their then instructions. As you and Colo. Gist have not arrived yet, at my Head Quarters I presume my Letter never came to hand. From this Circumstance, and as the Militia are in much confusion for want of Officers to arrange and bring them on, and applications are constantly making upon the Subject, I request that you will communicate this Letter to Colo. Gist, and that you and he set out upon this command, without a Moments loss of time, calling upon me in your way down. Without some Leaders are appointed, to form and command them, It is more than probable, a great part will disband; or if they should not, will be in such disorder that they will be of no Service. I am etc.²⁰

20. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To COLONEL MORDECAI GIST

Head Quarters, Wilmington, August 31, 1777.

Library of Congress

Sir: The Congress having called upon the State of Maryland, to furnish a number of Militia to assist in repelling the Invasion of the Enemy by way of Chesapeak Bay and appointed Brigadier Smallwood and yourself, to arrange, conduct and command them: You are to repair, without loss of time to George Town on Sarsafra, on the Eastern Shore of that State, or elsewhere on the East Side of Chesapeak Bay, where the Militia are Assembling for the purpose aforesaid, and to arrange and form them, as soon as possible, into the best order you can; which having done, you are to march them immediately towards the Head of Elk within a convenient distance to harrass and annoy the Enemys right flank and the parties they may send out, either while they remain there, or in any march they may attempt towards Philadelphia or into the Country. For this purpose you will occupy the best posts you can, having regard to the security of your Corps against sudden attacks and surprizes by the Enemy. To prevent the latter, it will be necessary to keep out constant patrols and scouting parties, and you will also use every means in your power, to obtain good information of their situation and the earliest intelligence of their designs and intended movements.

You will report to me, an account of your

arrival, the place where, the amount of your Force, and every circumstance from time to time, that you may consider material and necessary.

In a peculiar manner you will extend your care to the Cattle, Horses and stock of all kinds, lying contiguous to the Enemy and within such a distance, that there may be a probability of their falling into their hands. These must be driven out of their reach, and all Waggon and Carts removed that might facilitate the movement of their Baggage and Stores.

I shall not enlarge upon this occasion, nor enter into a more minute detail for your conduct, observing at the same time, that the situation of the Enemy, calls loudly for the exertions of all, and that I cannot but recommend the strictest care, attention and dispatch in executing the objects of your Command.

Library of Congress

You will speak to the Quarter Masters and Commissaries of Provisions and Forage and agree with them upon a mode by which you may be supplied with such necessities, as you may have occasion for, in the line of their respective Departments.

There is one thing more, which I would wish to mention, Viza. If there should be any Mills in the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, and which may be liable to fall into their hands, the Runners should be removed and

secured, this can be of no injury, or but a temporary one to the proprietors, while it will effectually prevent the Enemy from using the Mills. Grain too, should be carried out of their way, as far as circumstances will admit.²²

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Sir: I received to day, the favour of your two Letters of the 27th. and 28th. Ulto., with a Copy of Genl. Arnold's. The raising of the Seige of Fort Schuyler, is fortunate indeed, and I trust will free us from any further Apprehensions of an Invasion in that Quarter this Campaign, if it does not produce a friendly and favourable change in the dispositions of the Indians towards us. It is to be wished Genl. Arnold had arrived sooner; in such case, it is probable, the Enemy would have suffered much more severely in their retreat. As matters were, I should suppose, their loss of provisions and baggage and the distance they have to go, will reduce them to such a condition, that they will be able to give but little assistance any where this Year.

22. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

I have written to Colo. Hughes, the Deputy Qr. Mr. General at Peek's Kill, immediately to forward half the Salt provisions in the Magazine in Ulster to your Army. I do not know how much there is, but I have directed him to send from thence a further Quantity, if you

Library of Congress

should order it. It is to be regreted that our Supplies of so Essential an Article, are extremely scanty, and by no means equal to the necessary demands. I should be happy, if they were larger, as a more frequent use of Salt food, I am well convinced, would contribute greatly to the Health of our people.

Since Colo. Hamilton's Letter of the 29th. Ult. nothing remarkable has occurred. The Enemy's Van remains where it then was, and I believe the Main Body about Elk. There has been some skirmishing between our Scouting parties, but with little loss. We have taken about 70 or 80 British prisoners and there have been several Deserters from the Sea and Land Service together. I am &ca.29

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Sir: Previous to the arrival of your Letter of this

29. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, which is in the writing of Tench Tilghman, is in the New York Historical Society and varies in capitalization from the above draft.

morning, I had received intelligence of the return of that party of the Enemy which was sent to Warwick. I cannot but regret, that a proper number of Men had not been detached immediately after them, as it appears that if this measure had been seasonably taken the plunderers would have been cut off. As to any future operations against them, I must leave the planning of them intirely to your discretion, all that I have to observe and recommend to you on this head, is, that the Troops should not be harrassed by being indiscriminately employed on every slight occasion, but that their exertions should be reserved for objects worthy of attention and where there is a well grounded hope of Success; without these restrictions your Men will suffer much from the Fatigue of their Excursions without producing any suitable good end.

Library of Congress

Colo. Armand has complained to me of some Insults, offered him by a Lieutenant Colonel of Horse, whose name he does not mention, it will be easy for him to name the Gentleman to you, and you will order a Court of Inquiry upon the matter. I am etc.

P.S. I have ordered Six hundred Men from Genl. Greene's and Genl. Steven's Divisions to assist in removing Stores which are on the left Flank of the Enemy, you will second and aid them as much as lies in your power, and if there are any Commissaries or Quarter

Masters in the way, urge them to use all possible diligence in this business.³⁰

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Sir: Since writing to you a few Minutes ago, I have been informed that there is a considerable Number of Cattle and a variety of Stores (the property of Individuals) at and in the neighbourhood of Nottingham. As the distance from this place to the Head of Elk, is not so great, as to discourage the Enemy from attempting to make themselves Masters of such valuable Articles, it will be proper that you should contrive means for driving the Cattle and removing the effects to some place of greater Security, while you can avail yourself of the Detachment from Greene's and Steven's Division.

As the Service of the Horse is particularly wanted in the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, it will be unnecessary for you to trouble yourself with writing so frequently; if you will be so good only as to keep Minutes of common occurrences and let them find a place with the Accounts of more important matters, which you may have occasion to transmit from time to

30. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

time, you will not deprive yourself of so many useful hands and will equally oblige. Sir,
etc.²⁸

To COLONEL PATTERSON BELL

Head Quarters, September 1, 1777.

Colonel Patterson Bell of the Eighth Battalion of Chester County Militia, having informed me, that he can bring into the Field Two Hundred Volunteers to reinforce the Army under my command, I do hereby agree with him, that the said Corps or such Number of Men, as he brings shall be furnished with provisions and Ammunition during their continuance in Service, in the same manner that the Troops are which compose the Continental Army; he the said Colo. Bell promising to join his Corps to the Detachment commanded by Brigadier Genl. Maxwell, and to observe his orders and those of his the said Bell's Superior Officers while in Service.³³

28. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

33. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ANTHONY W. WHITE

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Sir: A Letter just received from Brigadier General Maxwell, informs me of the desertion of one of your light Horse. This disagreeable circumstance will naturally put you upon your Guard, but I desire that you will farther make very particular Scrutiny into the Characters of your Men and if you shall find any more Suspicious ones among them, that you will immediately dismount them and order them to Head Quarters, the loss of a Worthless Soldier will occasion less regret when it is not accompanied with that of a Horse and Accoutrements. I am etc.³²

To COLONEL HUGH HUGHES

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 1, 1777.

Sir: I have just received a letter from Genl. Gates informing me, that he is in great want of Salt provisions for the Northern Army.

You will therefore, on receipt of this, forward to him one half of what is now lodged in the 32. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

Magazine at Ulster County; and if he should not find this supply sufficient, but should call for more, you are to comply with his demands out of the remainder. No time should be lost in executing this order. I am etc.³¹

To MAJOR GENERAL JOSEPH SPENCER

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 2, 1777.

Sir: I have duly received your favor of the 15th. of last Month.

The frequent captures you make with your little parties, have a very good effect and ought to be encouraged.

With respect to the Exchanges you propose, it is not in my power to interfere in the matter. Elias Boudinot Esqr. has been appointed Commissary General of Prisoners, and every thing relating to them, must pass through his hands. He is not at present at Camp, or I should communicate your letter to him; for the future you will make all applications of a similar nature to him. But you may inform the Gentlemen concerned, that there is a general rule estalished for the exchange of all prisoners, in their turn according to the time of their Captivity, and that this rule cannot

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31. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

be departed from in favour of any person whatsoever, but every one will be liberated, in course, when it falls to his turn, and not sooner. It is natural for every Man to wish his friends and connections first released, and I have accordingly had frequent solicitations to forego the rule I have mentioned, but I have never given my authority to the least deviation from it, in any instance. I am etc.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 2, 1777.

Sir: I have your two favours of this date.

In consequence of the remonstrance from the Inhabitants near Elk, I have commanded Armand's Corps to repair immediately to this place. If any of the people who have been injured can point out the particular Persons, either Officers or Soldiers, they shall be made Examples of. As several accounts seem to agree, that the Enemy mean to come out to morrow Morning, I beg you will be prepared to give them as much trouble as you possibly can. You should keep small parties upon every Road that you may be sure of the one they take, and always be careful to keep rather upon their left Flank, because they cannot in that case cut you off from our Main Body. We have certain accounts that the Enemy raised the seige of Fort Schuyler, Upon the approach of Genl. Arnold, they abandoned their Camp, a considerable quantity of baggage and four Royal Howitz. Genl. Arnold and Colo. Gansevoort had detached light parties after them, in hopes of overtaking their Rear and recovering the rest of the Cannon and Baggage. I gave the Map that I promised you to the Engineers to Copy, but they have not yet done it. I am &ca.⁴¹

41. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Head Qurs., Wilmington, ½ past 8 O'Clock, September 2, 1777.

Sir: I am just favoured with yours of this Evening. I do not know where the sign of the Buck is, I therefore cannot say whether it will be proper for you to leave your present post to go and attack the party that is said to be thereabouts. If it is upon your left, as I suppose it is, it will be by no means proper, because while you were gone down, the Enemy might advance from Grey's Hill to Christeen and cut you off from us. Be careful to keep upon the left flank of the Enemy, for the Reasons given in my former of this day. I am etc.⁴²

42. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL THOMAS NELSON, JUNIOR

Wilmington, September 2, 1777.

Dear Sir: By yesterday morning's post, I received your favour of the 22d. Ultio. It gave me great pleasure to hear of your appointment, and I wish you to accept my Congratulations upon the occasion.⁴³ The want of Military experience you mention, is no obstacle to your serving your Country in the Capacity in which you have undertaken. In our infant state of War, it cannot be expected, we should be perfect in the

43. Nelson had been appointed brigadier general by Virginia, to command the State militia; he was elected governor of the State in 1781.

business of it; But I doubt not, that your zeal and assiduity will amply supply any deficiency, your diffidence of yourself leads you to suppose, you labour under in that respect. It is without doubt a disagreeable task to Command Militia, but we must make the best of circumstances, and use the means we have. That they are ill armed too, is a matter

Library of Congress

of great concern, every attention should be paid to putting them upon as respectable a footing as possible. It is of the first importance.

I observe you are directed by the Governor, to pay particular attention to the fortifications in the State and that in consequence of that you propose to garrison Portsmouth with 1200 Men and to divide the remainder of what troops you may have among the posts at York, Hampton and Williamsburgh. The reasons you assign for having a garrison at Portsmouth are good; but I can by no means think it would be prudent to have any considerable Stationary force at Hampton and York. These by being upon a narrow neck of land, would be in danger of being cut off. The Enemy might very easily throw up a few Ships into York and James's river, as far as Queens Creek; and land a body of men there, who by throwing up a few Redoubts, would intercept their retreat and oblige them to surrender at discretion.

As to the idea of preventing Ships from passing

up and down Rivers, our own experience has proved it wrong. It is scarcely possible, and I am satisfied, it is not to be affected by Forts and Batteries, unless the Water is narrow, and there are an immense number of Heavy Cannon, near which they are obliged to run from the course of the Channel.

I should think it proper to keep light parties down at those places, merely to prevent the insults of small parties of marines or the like; who could expeditiously withdraw themselves, on any appearances that should make it necessary; but I would not recommend any thing more.

You will have heard of the Enemy's landing near the head of Elk, and of their moving since from their first position and extending their Van to Grey's Hill, a piece of high ground, about two Miles on this side Elk Town. They still continue in this posture, preparing I suppose for some more capital operation. The want of Horses, sufficient to transport their baggage, Artillery and Stores, I imagine, will retard them some time, as every information agrees,

Library of Congress

they have lost several, and that many of those they now have are much reduced. We have light parties constantly hanging upon them, to harrass them and prevent their incursions into the Country, between whom and theirs, there have been some skirmishes, but with little loss to either side. We have made 70 or 80 prisoners since they landed and have had several Deserters.

In addition to what I have written, I

congratulate you on our further success at the Northward, on the 22d. Ult.; that part of Genl. Burgoyne's Army which had invested Fort Schuyler, raised the seige on the approach of Genl. Arnold, who was pushing hard to relieve the Garrison. They went off with great precipitation, leaving their Tents, provisions and Ammunition. A party detached from the Fort made several prisoners and took a good deal of baggage and four Royals. This is an interesting event and in all probability will prevent another invasion in that Quarter this Campaign. They had suffered before in an action with Brigadier Herkimer⁴⁴ at the head of part of the Militia of Tryon County, who behaved with the greatest Spirit and bravery. I am etc.⁴⁵

To COLONEL DAVID MASON

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 2, 1777.

Sir: I am glad to find, from yours of the 13th. Ult. that the Six new Virginia Battalions are likely to be completed by means of drafts and inlistments. All the recruits who have not had the small pox, should be inoculated before they join the Army, for altho' there are few of the Continental Troops,

44. Brig. Gen. Nicholas Herkimer, of the New York Militia. He had been mortally wounded at Oriskany in his attempt to relieve Fort Stanwix (Fort Schuyler), N. Y, and died 10 days after the battle.

Library of Congress

45. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and Alexander Hamilton.

but have had that disorder, yet as we constantly have Militia with the Army, we cannot safely inoculate here for fear of communicating it to them. I cannot consent to admit the practice of suffering any person to substitute himself in the room of a deserter; As desertion is the most pernicious Vice that can possibly prevail in an Army, the perpetrators of it should ever be punished with severity, for the sake of example; but still if you think that the offer of a pardon would induce many to return to their duty in a limited time, I have no objection to your trying the Experiment.

The Recruits must make a shift without Kettles and Blankets till they join the Army; while they are in the Hospital or in Quarters, they can get Pots and other Vessels, and as they will not be exposed to the Weather, Blankets will not be so essential. But if you can by any means procure any in the Country, it will be well to do so. I beg that you will, while you remain in Virginia, exert yourself in forwarding on those Recruits to their Regiments who have had the small pox, and in having those carried expeditiously thro' inoculation, who have not. I am etc.⁴⁶

46. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To COLONEL JAMES HENDRICKS

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 2, 1777.

Sir: Your Letter of the 31st. Ult. to Mr. Harrison has been laid before me. My motive for wishing you to continue in the Sixth Regiment was founded on a report that you could readily engage all or most of the privates in it, to serve during the War. This I considered as a happy circumstance; But as it may make little difference whether you remain in that, or have the first, and as Colo. Elliot has been appointed in Orders to the former, you may

Library of Congress

repair, as soon as you please to the latter and take the Command of it, as Colonel. I am etc.⁴⁷

To COLONEL CHARLES ARMAND TUFFIN⁴⁸

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 2, 1777.

Sir: I have a complaint lodged against your Corps by a number of the reputable Inhabitants in the Neighbourhood of Elk.

As I find that your men cannot be restrained from committing Violences while in the Country, I desire you will immediately march them to this Town. I am &ca.

47. The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

48. Charles Armand–Tuffin, Marquis de la Rouerie.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 3, 1777.

Sir: Yours of three O'Clock this morning I have received. I do not think you have much to fear from the party that has been sent over to Bohemia, who lie greatly to the Southward of you and too remote from where you now are, easily to injure you. It is imagined the design of their going there is to extend across from Bohemia River to Apoquiminy, by which means, they will prevent the Eastern Shore people from coming to our assistance, and will have the command of an extensive country to collect supplies in. But this is conjecture; and it is not impossible, they may attempt to throw a party in your Rear by way of Christiana bridge; though to do it, they must make a forced march of thirteen or fourteen Miles. As this however, is practicable enough, I would not wish to discourage the idea of your retiring to take possession of that bridge; where your left will be secured by Christiana Creek, and you will have nothing to fear except in front. My only objection to this is, that

Library of Congress

being so much farther off [from] the Enemy, you will have it the less in your power to watch and harrass them.

I wish you very much to have the situation of the Enemy critically reconnoitred, to know as exactly as possible how and where they lie, in what places they are approachable; where their several guards are stationed, and the strength of them; and every thing necessary to be known to enable us to judge, with precision, whether any advantage may be taken of their present divided State. No pains should be omitted to gain as much certainty, as can be had, in all these particulars. I am etc.

P.S. By a Gentleman just arrived at Head Quarters, I learn the Enemy from Bohemia have advanced some distance on the New Castle road, and were last night about 10 Miles from Christiana Bridge. This makes your retreat to that place advisable and necessary.⁵⁶

To BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 4, 1777.

Sir: Colonel Broadhead of the 8th. Pennsylvania Regiment has represented to me, that several of his Officers sent to Westmoreland with large sums of Public Money, for the purposes of recruiting men for his Corps and recovering others who had deserted from it, were

⁵⁶. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

detained by your influence and countenance from their Regiment. I know not what foundation he may have for this assertion, but if the fact be true, it is a piece of conduct of a very unwarrantable and injurious nature, and I must desire, that on receipt of this, you will not only order those Officers to proceed immediately with their Men to join their Corps, but will take pains, to see that they punctually comply with that order.

Library of Congress

It is probable before this reaches you, you will have heard of Fort Stanwix being relieved on the approach of Genl. Arnold. The Enemy retreated precipitately, leaving all their baggage, tents and four Royals behind them, which fell into our hands. A number of Prisoners were also taken, and many deserters came over to us. I am etc.

P.S. The Officers particularly mentioned are, Captn. Samuel Miller, Lieutt. Richard Richardson, Lieutt. John Hughes.⁶²

To COLONEL WILLIAM RICHARDSON

Wilmington, September 4, 1777.

Sir: General Howe having arrived with his Army at the Head of Chesapeak Bay, with a design to

62. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton; the P.S. is in that of Caleb Gibbs.

push his Arms in this Quarter and particularly against Philadelphia, It is necessary to collect our whole force to oppose him. You will therefore, immediately on receipt of this, march such Companies of your Regiment, as are on the Eastern Shore, with all convenient expedition to the head of Sassafra, or such other place towards the Head of Elk or elsewhere, at which the Eastern Shore Militia may be collected, and join and cooperate with them, in such measures as may be necessary for annoying and harrassing the Enemy. And you will receive and obey such Orders, as the Commanding Officer of them, if your superior, shall judge proper to give from time to time.

I need not upon this occasion urge dispatch, the necessity it is evident, and known to all. I am etc.⁶³

To DOCTOR BENJAMIN RUSH

Library of Congress

Wilmington, September 4, 1777.

Sir: I have been duly favoured with yours of the 30th. Ulto. relative to Captn. McPherson.⁶⁴

Agreeable to your request I have directed Mr. Boudinot Commissary General of Prisoners, to settle

63. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

64. Capt. John McPherson, of the Seventeenth Foot, British Army.

the terms of the Indulgence desired, with Capt. McPherson, and after taking his parole for the performance of them, to give him a pass to go into New York.

This I expect will be done, without loss of time. I am etc.⁶⁵

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Wilmington, September 5, 1777.

Sir: I send you herewith two letters for Lord and General Howe, which you will immediately transmit by a flag to the latter. Let some decent Officer go with the flag.

I have heard a report of one of our Militia parties firing upon a flag that came from the Enemy; I wish you to inquire into the matter, and, if you find it true, make a proper apology for it to General Howe, and strictly forbid any Similar infringement of the rules of propriety for the future, provided these steps have not been already taken. As you have given me no information of such an incident, I suppose the report must have been without foundation, but I mention this lest it might have happened, as I should wish of all things, to avoid giving any cause of complaint in this way.

Library of Congress

I should be glad to hear how the Enemy are

65. The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

situated and what they seem to be about. Send out reconnoitring parties, under good intelligent Officers to inspect the different parts of their Camp, and gain as exact an insight as possible into their circumstances, and let me know the result of their observations. Endeavour also to procure some of the Country people in the Neighbourhood, in whom you can repose confidence to go into their lines, and make what discoveries they can. As an inducement to this, they must be properly rewarded. I am etc.

P.S. You should always have small advanced parties towards the Enemy's lines, about the hour of the morning you expect them to move, as it is of essential importance to us, to have the earliest intelligence of it. Several persons have mentioned that there is a Hessian General quartered at one Fisher's, covered only by a small guard. This is well worth your attention and may afford a glorious opportunity for a partisan exploit. Any of the Country people can direct you, I suppose, where Fisher's is.⁶⁶

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Wilmington, September 5, 1777.

Dear Sir: Let me know by the bearer whether you have

66. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

received such information, as to enable you to make the intended attempt to night (or rather in the morning) if you have, the parson will be an excellent hand to accompany you.

I am persuaded, I need not impress upon you the necessity of secrecy, the success of the enterprise totally depends upon that, and the precautions you use, to prevent the disaffected from carrying intelligence of your march after it is began, and this to be done by

Library of Congress

waylaying all the roads leading to the Enemy. I would not advise you, to communicate your scheme to any of your Officers, till just as you are ready to put it into execution. Things leak out surprisingly, and if any intimation should be given of the scheme, the tables may be turned upon you. You may rely upon it, that if you have entrusted many Officers with a knowledge of this matter, that it has, or will soon descend to the men.

In returning, you had better come in upon our right, lest any attempt should be made to intercept you on either of the other roads. Take care to provide good guides, and with proper precaution, or else the attempt to do this will betray your design. I am etc.⁶⁷

67. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CAESAR RODNEY

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 5, 1777.

Sir: Yours of Yesterday reached me last night. I hope, as the Enemy have moved further towards the Head of Elk, that the New Castle Militia will find an Opportunity of joining you with safety. I last night sent an Express to Colo. Richardson of the 5th. Maryland Battalion to march up from Lewis Town and join you, but as there is a possibility that the Letter may have miscarried, I inclose you a duplicate, which I beg you will be kind enough to forward to him. For the present you can do no more than keep scouts and patrols towards the Enemy to watch their motions, but as soon as you are joined by more force from this State, by the Militia of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and by Richardson's Battalion, I would have you move as near the Enemy as you can with safety, that you may, if they move on towards Philadelphia, get between them and their Shipping and cut off their Communication with them or at least render it difficult. You will endeavour to check any parties that the Enemy may send out to collect Horses, Cattle or Forage; and give me intelligence of any occurrences that may come to your knowledge. I am &ca.

Library of Congress

P.S. The light Horseman who brought your letter, informs me that the Enemy's Shipping all fell down from Cecil Court House last Tuesday and were out of sight; be pleased to inform me whether this be true, and if it is, endeavour to find out how low they have fallen down. If you advance towards the Enemy always keep your Baggage well in your Rear that you may not be incumbered by it.⁶⁸

To CHRISTOPHER LUDOWICK

Wilmington, September 5, 1777.

Sir: Mr. Stewart Cornroy. Genl. of Issues has shown me a letter from him to you of yesterday's date, desiring you to repair to Camp, leaving the ovens at Morristown under the direction of some other person, if you can find a proper one; and directing you also in your way to call at Pittstown and Coryells, and forward all the bread from those places by water to Camp, or near it. It is my wish, you should punctually comply with these instructions, and use all the dispatch you can in coming yourself and in sending on the bread, for which there is an indispensable necessity.

And when you come to Philadelphia, I would have you set as many ovens as you can procure to work in baking hard bread. I am etc.⁶⁹

68. The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs; the P.S. is in that of Tench Tilghman.

69. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Wilmington, September 6, 1777.

Library of Congress

Dear Sir: In your letter of the 22d. Ult^o. you transmitted a Memorandum, requesting directions about repairing and building Barracks, and also my sentiments, as to the number of Troops that may probably Winter at Peaks Kill.

In respect to the number of Troops, that may quarter there it is difficult, if not impossible at this time to ascertain it, as a variety of Circumstances may arise in the course of the Campaign to alter any estimate that might now be made; However, I suppose there may be four thousand there and at the Forts above.

As to the Barracks, you will proceed on as saving a plan as you can, and build no more than what will be absolutely necessary. I imagine quarters may be procured, within a reasonable distance for many of the Troops, so that they would be near enough to assemble in time, against any attack, the Enemy may attempt to make, and if so, that Barracks need not be provided for the whole, or for more, than will be fully sufficient to guard and defend the several passes. Care and attention should be had to placing them. They shou'd not be fixed, where they will be exposed to the Enemy or be liable to be burnt by

them on a sudden push, as those were at Peaks Kill in the beginning of the Spring. We must remember the event and profit by it.

Since the Enemy landed, there have been several small Skirmishes between our light parties but without any great damage to either side. We have made between seventy and eighty British prisoners, and have had several deserters, chiefly from the Ships. Their main Body lies about eight or Nine Miles from ours, but our parties are much nearer. I suppose in a little time, probably in the course of a few days, the scene will be more active and very interesting. I am etc.⁷⁴

To CAPTAIN BENJAMIN POLLARD

Library of Congress

Head Qurs., New Port, September 6, 1777.

Sir: By the time this reaches you, you will have made a considerable progress in blocking up the Bridge which you had begun to lay over the Brandywine, and blocking up the Road leading to it, as soon as this business is effectually done, I should be glad to have a proper Bridge thrown over that part of the Creek and adjacent Mill Races which the Engineer pointed out to you this morning, provided the execution of such a Work would not require too long a time: this you will consider and let me know

74. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

by the return of the Bearer in how little time you could undertake to perfect the Bridges in question. I am etc.⁷⁵

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Qurs., Wilmington, September 7, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am to acknowledge the receipt of your favours of the 13th. and 20th. August. I should have answered the former before this time, but as I received it upon my march to this place, I had not an opportunity of doing it sooner.

As the expedition to St. Johns was set on foot by order of Congress, you should apply to them for directions about the payment of the Officers for the time they were engaged in that Service. I do not know any thing of the terms on which they set out and therefore cannot properly give order in the matter.

If you will send a list of the Officers of Henley's Lee's and Jackson's Regiments⁸² with the exact times of their appointments, I will have their Commissions forwarded to them. After Capt. Trescot⁸³ was disappointed of a Majority, by Cornel's⁸⁴ Regiment falling thro', he agreed to accept

Library of Congress

75. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

82. Cols. David Henley, William R. Lee, and Henry Jackson's Additional Continental regiments.

83. Capt. Lemuel Trescott, of the Sixth Continental Infantry, and Henley's Additional Continental regiment. He was major of same regiment in May, 1778; transferred to Jackson's Additional Continental regiment (designated the Sixteenth Massachusetts Regiment in July, 1780) in April, 1779; transferred to the Ninth Massachusetts Regiment January, 1781; to the Seventh Massachusetts Regiment in January, 1783; to the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment in June, 1783; served to November of that year.

84. Ezekiel Cornell, brigadier general of Rhode Island Militia. He was to have commanded an Additional Continental regiment; inspector in the Continental Army in September, 1782; served to close of the war.

of the eldest Captaincy in Henley's Regiment, by which means he would get the Majority whenever a Vacancy should happen. More than this I cannot do; for if the Custom of granting Brevets is once introduced into the Army, there will be no end to applications for them.

If the intrenching Tools that came in the Amphitrite are of so ordinary a quality the expence of removing them to Springfield will be more than their Value, you had therefore better have them carried for the present to some place in the Neighbourhood of Boston. The Grenades may be also left.

Since General Howe's debarkation in Elk River he has moved on about Seven Miles, his main Body now lays at Iron Hill and ours near a Village called Newport.⁸⁵ In this position the Armies are from eight to ten miles apart. It is yet very uncertain what Genl. Howe's plan of operations will be. Some imagine that he will extend himself from the Head

Library of Congress

Waters of Chesapeak to Delaware and by these means not only cut off the Counties on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and two of those belonging to the Delaware State from affording us any assistance, but will secure the Horses, Cattle and Forage, of which there are considerable quantities in that Country. This in my opinion, considering how far the Campaign is already advanced, would take up more time than he could spare. For supposing him able to form such an extension, he would be full as far from Philadelphia as he is at present, and he would be

85. Newport in three or four miles southwest of Wilmington, Del.

subject to an attack upon some part of his line which from its length could not be properly supported. A few days past he advanced two or three Miles forward, during which there was pretty sharp skirmishing between our light Troops and his Van. We had about forty killed and wounded, and I imagine the Enemy had considerably more, as ours were thinly posted behind cover, and they were in Column. I am &ca.86

86. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

On September 7 Tilghman wrote to Brig. Gen. Caesar Rodney, by direction of Washington, requesting him to move nearer to the enemy and fall on his rear should he move toward the Continental forces: "I hope, if any Spirit of disaffection should appear below, that it will soon be checked by making a severe example of the Ringleaders."

Robert Hanson Harrison wrote to Capt. William Barnet, of the Second Continental Dragoons: "It is General Washington's most positive and peremptory order, that immediately after receipt of this, you repair to His Head Quarters, with all the Men, Horses and Accoutrements under your direction; belonging to the United States. This you are to comply with, without the least possible delay, on pain of being tried and dismissed the service for disobedience of orders."

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CAESAR RODNEY

Head Qurs., near Chads Ford, September 10, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of Yesterday, and am sorry to find that so irregular a Spirit and temper prevails among your Militia. Tile New Castle County people have no excuse for not joining you now, as the Enemy have in a manner left [a] good part of the Country. I have received advice that their advanced Guards are within five Miles of this place. I wrote to you Yesterday to follow upon their Rear, with all the Force you could collect, and I now press it upon you in the most urgent manner; because if we should be lucky enough to give them a stroke at this distance from their Ships, you will be ready to intercept them. You will also be in the way of intercepting Convoys going to and coming from their Shipping. I desire you will be very particular in keeping the Returns of what Militia are in Service, and the time of Service, because when the Rolls are brought in for pay, I shall expect them to be Certified by you. For want of a little Care in this respect the public has suffered monstrous impositions. I am etc.⁹²

92. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Derby, September 12, 1777.

Sir: Having more maturely considered the Situation and circumstances of the Enemy since Colo. Hamilton wrote you this morning. It appears to me, that the Forces under your command, cannot be employed to so much advantage in any way, as by failing on the Enemy's Rear and attacking them as often as possible. I am persuaded many advantages will result from this measure. It will greatly retard their march and give us time, and will also oblige them, either to keep a strong guard with their Sick and Wounded, with which they must now be much incumbered, or to send them back to their Shipping under a large escort, which you will have an opportunity of attacking with a good prospect of Success. Add to these considerations, that before you could join me by a circuitous march and your

Library of Congress

Troops were rested, matters might be brought to a crisis. I therefore wish you to pursue the line of conduct I have pointed out, and must urge you to every possible degree of diligence and dispatch. I also wish you to write to Genl. Rodney of Delaware and Colo. Gist, requesting them to push on and join you with all the force they have and can collect. It will be advisable too, for you to send into the Country as you march, and to call in every aid you can. But I would not have you to wait for their joining, as they can do it after you have proceeded near the Enemy. No exertions can be too great at this time, and if the people would make a Spirited effort, there is the strongest Reason to believe the present contest would terminate happily and Speedily. I am, etc.²

2. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To COLONEL STEPHEN MOYLAN

Camp at Mr. Hills, September 13, 1777.

Sir: You will perceive by the inclosed Letter from Colo. Flower to Mr. Rittenhouse, that the removal of our Military Stores from French Creek is an object of great importance. For the purpose, a number of Waggon's must be collected as soon as possible; I therefore desire, that you will immediately detach Twenty Light Dragoons under an Active Officer, without a moments loss of time to assist Mr. Rittenhouse at French Creek, in procuring such a Quantity as he may judge necessary, and to render such other Services as he (the Officer may think material). You will instruct the Officer to procure the Waggon's in the least exceptionable manner. But they must be had without one instants delay. The Stores must be removed immediately or they may be destroyed. I am &ca.⁴

4. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

On September 13 Tench Tilghman wrote to Moylan, by direction of Washington, that the main body of his cavalry might be quartered in the barracks upon the Schuylkill. He was

Library of Congress

cautioned to be vigilant, and warned that reconnoitering officers too often accepted reports from others without attending to it themselves, and reminded that officers would be held to strict accountability should any accident happen to the Army from false intelligence.

To CHARLES STEWART

Head Qurs., Germantown, September 13, 1777.

Sir: The Army will move from this place to morrow morning to the Swedes Ford and from thence towards the Enemy by such Route as circumstances may require. You will therefore take care to lay in Supplies of provision and liquor at such places as you may deem most convenient. As it is intended that the Army shall move with as much dispatch and as light as possible, you are to carry with you as much hard Bread as you can at present and let a further quantity follow. As I would not wish that the intended Route of the Army should be made public, you are desired to make your dispositions without informing any persons but those to whom it is necessary to make it known. I am &ca.5

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp at Germantown, September 14, 1777.

Dear Sir: By express this moment received from Genl. Dickinson, the Enemy have crost over from New York and

5. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Staten Island in two divisions, one at Elizabeth Town the other at Second River, each division consisting of about a thousand Men with Artillery.

By your returns it appears you have three thousand Six hundred and eight men including the Militia and Sergeants fit for duty at your post, besides the detachment of 1500 already ordered, a further detachment will be necessary to reinforce the first. You will therefore

Library of Congress

immediately on the receipt of this detach a thousand more and if Genl. McDougall did not come on with the first detachment he must come on with this, let the detachment be made as privately as possible.

You will immediately write to Governor Trumbull the State of affairs and request, as this appears to be a Crisis, a reinforcement of 2000 Militia to secure the posts in the Highlands and to enable you to make further detachments, if circumstances should render it necessary.

You will garrison Fort Montgomery and the other fortifications about it with some of your best Troops and secure the passes into the Highlands with the remainder of the Continental Troops and the Militia. As it is not improbable the Enemy may make a diversion up the North River, by way of amusing you and to take advantages, as circumstances may favour their design, you cannot be too vigilant. You will write, in the most pressing terms, to Governor Trumbull to hasten in the Militia.

The Letter that accompanies this for Genl. Heath let it be forwarded with all imaginable dispatch.

The advance party of the Enemy are within three Miles of Chester, we shall recross the Schuylkill this day to take another look at them. I am etc.¹³

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Qrs., near German Town, September 14, 1777.

Dear Sir: As the object of the Enemy is now reduced to an absolute certainty, and they are bending their whole force with great vigour to the Southward, it can no longer answer any valuable purpose to keep a body of Continental troops in your State, whose presence in the further progress of the campaign will probably be essentially necessary in this quarter. You will therefore, on receipt of this, exert yourself to dispatch forward all the Continental

Library of Congress

troops now in your State, to join this Army, *with all possible expedition*. Not a moments time is to be lost. The call for them is to the last degree urgent.

On the 11th. instant, we had a pretty general Engagement with the Enemy, which from some unlucky

13. The draft is in the writing of Nathanael Greene.

incidents terminated against us, so far as to our being obliged to quit the field after an obstinate action, with the loss of some men and Artillery. But from every account we have reason to believe the Enemy suffered much more than we did in the number of killed and wounded. Our Troops have not lost their Spirits, and I am in hopes we shall soon have an Opportunity of compensating for the disaster we have sustained.

We brought the Army to this place to refresh them with convenience and security, and are just beginning our march to return towards the Enemy. Hurry of business prevents my giving you particulars. I am etc.¹⁴

[MS.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG

Head Qurs., Sunday Morning, 7 O'Clock, September 14, 1777.

Sir: I last night wrote to the Officer commanding at the Bridge, ordering him to have it moved immediately, which I understand has been by some means neglected. I have therefore to request that you will have it executed directly, as the Enemy (being now advanced near Chester) will probably detach a party of light Troops to take possession of it, particularly when they come to understand that we have taken

14. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The draft in the *Washington Papers*, also in Hamilton's writing, shows some minor variations.

Library of Congress

the Route which is determined on. You will also pay due attention to the Fords up the Schuylkill, and have any Works you see necessary thrown up for their defence. Colo. Du Pottail and his Officers will attend you for this purpose.¹⁵ As it is not expected that these Works will have occasion to stand a long defence, they should be such as can with the least labour and in the shortest time be completed, only that part of them which is opposed to cannon, need be of any considerable thickness and the whole of them should be rather calculated for dispatch than any unnecessary Decorations or Regularity which Engineer's are frequently too fond of. Guards should be kept at all the Ferries to take care of the Boats, as long as they are necessary for use, after which they should be drawn up and there also guarded. Inclosed you have an order to Colo. Du Pottail to wait on you. I am &ca.¹⁶

***To BRIGADIER GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL, OR OFFICER COMMANDING THE DETACHMENT FROM PEEKSKILL**

Camp near Schuylkill, September 14, 1777.

Sir: I have just received the Inclosed Information

15. On September 14 Washington wrote to Du Pottail ordering him to report to Armstrong "and take his orders about throwing up some small works along the Schuylkill, which must be such as can be most speedily executed." The letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

16. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

from Genl. Dickenson through Congress, and in consequence, desire that you will, if the Enemy should appear in force, and have more in view than to Plunder and distress the Country, join Genl. Dickenson with the Detachment under your Command, and give every opposition to the Enemy in their March through the Jerseys you possibly can. The Public

Library of Congress

Stores which from time to time have been sent up the Delaware to Trenton &ca., is an object of much moment and will claim your attention.

If Genl. Dickenson's Intelligence should proove erroneous or these Parties should have returnd back to Staten Island, you are in either of these cases to move forward and join the Army under my immediate command with all possible expedition. I am etc.

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Head Qurs., near German Town, September 14, 1777.

Sir: I have this morning received a Copy of your Letter to Congress, informing of the Enemy's incursion into the Jersies. You will perceive by the inclosed Letters what steps I have taken in consequence of your information. After perusing them, you will forward them with all dispatch. On your part I am confident you will do every thing in your power to assist in counteracting the Enemy. I am etc.¹⁸

18. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To COLONEL WILLIAM RUMNEY

Camp at Bucks Tavern, 10 Miles from Philadelphia, September 14, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have been favoured with your Letter of the 10th. and am happy to find, the Militia of Fairfax

County have turned out with such readiness at this interesting period. Their conduct is truly laudable and has a claim to my thanks. As Philadelphia is evidently the object of General Howe's expedition into Chesapeak Bay, and he is now making a violent effort to possess himself of it, I think your Regiment should immediately proceed to Lancaster in Pennsylvania from whence their can be more easily had, then if they remain at Frederick Town. The same line of conduct should be pursued by such other Militia, as are now there,

Library of Congress

or may be Assembling. Which I you to communicate to their Commanding Officers. You be pleased to advise me of your approach and that of any o Troops, to that post, that I may be enabled to give such further directions respecting your destination, as the situation affairs may require. I am etc.¹⁹

19. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To MAJOR FRANCIS MURRAY²⁰

Head Qurs., near Germantown, September 14, 1777.

Sir: As I have ordered that a Detachment of the Troops march from Peeks Kill to join this Army, which I expect will very s come thro' Morris Town or its Neighbourhood. It is my desire that you hold the Men under your command in readiness mediately to join them and proceed with them to us, or to other place where it shall appear necessary to order them any Commissary or Quarter Masters Stores remain at Morris Town, you will order them back in the Country and give every Assistance in your power for executing it. I am &ca.²¹

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING AT SCHUYLKILL

Head Quarters, September 14, 1777.

Sir: You are immediately upon receipt of this to loose Schuylkill Bridge from its moorings and let it swing to the Philadelphia side of the River and there fastened; this order which was sent to you from me in positive terms

20. Major of a Pennsylvania State regiment.

21. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

last night, you injudiciously waved carrying into execution, it is now repeated to you, and you will be made answerable for any ill consequences, which may attend a farther neglect,

Library of Congress

the boats will be fully sufficient for ferrying over any Waggons &ca. employed in necessary public Service. I am &ca.22

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Yellow Springs, September 17, 1777.

Sir: Upon examining the State of our Ammunition, I find it so generally hurt by the Rain, that we are not in Condition to make a stand against the Enemy. I have therefore thought best to move up towards Warwick Furnace, in order to obtain a Supply from the other side Schuylkill, and have given orders accordingly. Genl. Greene's Division remains here and Genl. Wayne's between this and Warwick until the baggage can be got off. I would have you remain where you are until that part of the baggage and Stores at the Valley can be got away, which I wish to be effected as expeditiously as possible, and then join us, at Warwick by the shortest Route. General Potter had best remain with you. Should you want Horses for the removal of the Baggage, you will be under the

22. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

necessity of pressing them.

As I dont wish you to remain, a moment longer than is necessary for covering the baggage, you will take care to be informed of it as soon as it happens, by sending an Officer for that purpose. I am &ca.33

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Camp, September 17, 1777.

Sir: As it may be dangerous for the Troops under your command to act alone, and the Service may be more advanced by drawing our whole Force together, I earnestly request, that you will form a junction with the main Army, as soon as you possibly can. We shall

Library of Congress

be at Warwick Furnace, on French Creek to morrow Evening. The Enemy are now posted near the White House Tavern, on the Road leading from Lancaster to Philadelphia. I cannot mark out any particular Route for you, as that will depend upon the situation of the Enemy, of which you will obtain the best information in your power, that you may be secure in your Line of March. There is one Futhay, about Two Miles this side Cockran's, who is said to be a trusty person and

33. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

acquainted with the Country. I must once more urge the necessity of the utmost expedition. I am etc.³⁴

To COLONEL WILLIAM MALCOM³⁸

Camp at Yellow Springs in Pennsylvania, September 17, 1777.

Sir: I have been favoured with your Two Letters of the 13th. and 14th. Instt. At present, the situation of our Affairs will not justify any of the Independent Companies being attached to your Regiment, whatever may be the case in future; And having regard to the public interest and knowing the small prospect there is of raising of men at this Crisis, I do not think myself authorized to commission either of the Gentlemen you mention, as it would be multiplying the number of Officers and incurring an additional expence, with but a very remote, if any, probability of augmenting our Force.

I think with you, that it will be necessary that some Troops should winter where you propose, but the number, I cannot now determine on; However, I would wish you to pay attention to the Barracks and direct the earliest repair of them to be made. As to laying up Magazines of provision and Forage,

34. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Library of Congress

38. Of one of the Additional Continental regiments.

I shall speak to the Gentlemen under whose notice these matters more properly fall.

I have nothing more to add, than my wishes, that your utmost exertions may be employed to counteract and defeat the progress of the Enemy now in Jersey, as far as 'tis in your power, having special regard to the Security of the pass leading thro' the Mountains to the Highland Fortifications. I cannot prescribe any particular line of conduct for you upon this occasion; but shall leave you to act in such a way, as shall seem best calculated to annoy the Enemy, and advance the public Service. I am etc.³⁹

To MAJOR GENERAL THOMAS MIFFLIN

Yellow Springs, September 17, 1777.

Sir: I desire you will immediately move the baggage and Ammunition from the place where you are at present, to Warwick Furnace. Colo. Evans,³⁶ the bearer of this, is kind enough to undertake to pilot you by the safest and best Route. No time is to be lost in the execution of this business and I think if you were to impress a few Waggon and lighten the others of part of their loads, it would be better as the Roads are so

39. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

36. Col. George Evans, of the Delaware Militia.

exceedingly bad. The baggage and Ammunition that is at present at Perkioming is to move up to Pottsgrove. I am &ca.³⁷

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Camp 28 Miles from Philadelphia on the Reading Road, September 22, 1777.

Library of Congress

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 21st. and am

37. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

happy to find that you are on the point of marching to the reinforcement of this Army. To quiet the Alarms and fears of the people upon the Sound, I would recommend it to you to pick one thousand or Twelve hundred of your best Militia and let the remainder return. If you come with them yourself, I beg you may march with all possible expedition to form a junction with this Army, which (from present circumstances) I imagine will be in the Neighbourhood of Pottsgrove. I need not tell you that I wish you to come with this detachment, but if the Service requires your stay in Jersey, you will be pleased to empress the necessity of a speedy junction upon the Officer who Commands. The Route over Coryells Ferry and across the Country will be the shortest. An Officer should be always kept ahead to gain intelligence of the Situation of the Enemy lest they should fall suddenly in with them. The same Officer may inquire where our Army lays, that no unnecessary Ground may be gone over. I am &ca.

P.S. The Van of the Enemy is about French Creek upon the West side of Schuylkill.⁵⁴

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

September 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: I wrote you on Friday last, requesting your

54. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

earliest arrival with the Troops under your Command, to join this Army. This I must repeat, and have sent an Officer on purpose to deliver my Letter, to whom I refer you for the particulars of our situation and that of the Enemy at this Time. I shall only observe respecting them, that the main body of their Army lay last night near French Creek bridge

Library of Congress

about Four Miles from Schuylkill on the West Side. Their unvaried object has been and it seems still to be pursued, to get above us, and turn on our right Flank. We are on the East side the River and advance as they do, on the Common Road from Philadelphia, to Reading, Twenty Eight Miles from the former. From the present complexion of affairs, you should proceed on the most direct Route leading to Potts Grove about 9 Miles above this place; But I wish you as soon as you approach the Delaware to advise me by Express, still continuing the Route I have mentioned, till you hear from me in answer to your Letter, when you will be directed to proceed as circumstances require. I shall not add more, than to urge your unremitted diligence to join me, as early as possible, assuring you, that your aid is extremely wanted and cannot arrive too soon. You will write me a line by the return of the Officer. I am etc.⁵⁵

55. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To COLONEL GEORGE GIBSON

Camp on the Reading Road, 28 Miles from Philada., September 22, 1777.

Sir: I wrote to you about ten days ago, directing you to join this Army with the utmost expedition. But our Situation has been so much changed by a variety of circumstances since that time, that I think it proper to inform you that we are at present here and are moving up the Country towards Reading, as the Enemy are moving that way upon the West side of Schuylkill. I would recommend it to you to march across the Country from Lancaster to Reading, and if you find the way clear, cross Schuylkill at that place and form a junction with me as speedily as possible. Lest you should be deceived by reports of the Situation of the Enemy, I would advise you always to keep an intelligent Officer ahead, not only to find out where they are, but also where our Army is. You may by these means save much needless marching. Let me know as soon as possible where you are. I have only to press you to delay no time in coming on, and to assure you, I am, etc.⁵⁶

56. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

INSTRUCTIONS TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL ALEXANDER HAMILTON

September 22, 1777.

Sir: The distressed situation of the Army for want of blankets and many necessary articles of Clothing, is truly deplorable; and must inevitably be destructive to it, unless a speedy remedy be applied. Without a better supply than they at present have, it will be impossible for the Men to support the fatigues of the campaign in the further progress of the approaching inclement season. This you well know to be a Melancholy truth. It is equally the dictate of common sense and the opinion of the Physicians of the Army, as well as of every Officer in it. No supply can be drawn from the public Magazines. We have therefore no resource but from the private stock of individuals. I feel, and I lament, the absolute necessity of requiring the inhabitants to contribute to those wants which we have no other means of satisfying, and which, if unremoved, would involve the ruin of the Army, and perhaps the ruin of America. Pain full as it is to me to order and as it will be to you to execute the measure, I am compelled to desire you immediately to proceed to Philadelphia, and there procure from the inhabitants, contributions of blankets and Clothing and materials to answer the purposes of both, in proportion to the ability of each. This you will do, with as much delicacy and discretion, as the nature of the

business demands, and I trust the necessity will justify the proceeding in the Eyes of every person well affected to the American cause; and that all good citizens will chearfully afford their assistance to Soldiers, whose sufferings they are bound to commiserate, and who are eminently exposed to danger and distress, in defence of every thing they ought to hold dear.

As there are also a number of Horses in Philadelphia both of public and private property, which would be a valuable acquisition to the enemy, should the City by any accident fall

Library of Congress

into their hands. You are hereby authorized and commanded to remove them thence into the Country to some place of greater security and more remote from the operations of the Enemy.

You will stand in need of assistance from others, to execute this commission with dispatch and propriety, and you are therefore empowered to employ such persons, as you shall think proper, to aid you therein. I am &ca.57

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Camp on Reading Road, 28 Miles from Philada., September 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have ordered eight or ten Light Horse more

57. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

to your assistance, and if you should find a further force necessary to facilitate the business you are upon, there are fifty or Sixty dismounted N. Carolinians attached at present to Colo. Nicholas Corps. They must be subject to your order. I have been just now informed, that there are not less than three thousand pair of Shoes in the hands of three or four Persons in Philadelphia, a Peter January himself is said to have 1400 pair. You will make the most diligent inquiry upon this Head. You know our distresses and will collect every pair you possibly can. I refer you to Mr. Mease for proper information, being told that he knows where they are. I do not wish your exertions to be solely directed to obtaining Shoes and Blankets, extend them to every other article, you know to be material for the Army; Your own prudence will point out the least exceptionable means to be pursued in these instances, but remember, that delicacy and a strict adherence to the ordinary modes of application must give place to our necessities. We must, if possible, accommodate the Soldiery with such Articles as they stand in need of, or we shall have just Reasons to apprehend the most injurious and alarming consequences from the approaching season. As fast as you collect Shoes and Blankets you will send them off by some interior middle

Library of Congress

road, that they may be secure, with peremptory orders, to those who shall have them in charge, not to delay a moment in getting them to the Army. The business you are upon I know is disagreeable, and perhaps

in the execution, you may meet with more obstacles than were at first apprehended, and also with opposition to the parties I have mentioned; call in such a number of Militia as you may think necessary, observing however over the conduct of the whole, a strict discipline, to prevent every Species of rapine and disorder. If Mr. Mease has any under Jackets and Stockings, he should order a supply to be forwarded to the Army as soon as possible. This you will tell him. I am etc.

P.S. I doubt not but Mr. Mease has removed all the Clothing 'ere this, but you'll mention the propriety of doing it immediately, in case of accidents.⁵⁸

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp on Schuylkill, 34 Miles from Philadelphia, September 23, 1777.

Dear Sir: The situation of our affairs in this Quarter calls for every aid, and for every effort. Genl. Howe, by various Manœuvres and marching high up the Schuylkill, as if he meant to turn our Right Flank, found means by countermarching to pass the River, several Miles
⁵⁸. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

below us last night, which is fordable almost in every part, and is now fast advancing towards Philadelphia. I therefore desire, that without a moments loss of time you will detach as many effective rank and file, under proper Generals and other Officers, as will make the whole number, including those with Genl. McDougall, amount to Twenty five Hundred privates and Non Commissioned fit for duty. The Corps under Genl. McDougall, to my great surprise, by a Letter from him some days ago, consisted only of Nine Hundred and Eleven. You will direct the officers commanding the Detachment now ordered, to

Library of Congress

proceed as expeditiously as they can to reinforce me. The Route thro' Morris Town and over Coryell's Ferry will be the best for them to pursue. Before they arrive at the Ferry, they will hear where I am, but that they may know their destination, when they are in two days march of it, they are to advise me by express, and I will write on the Subject. I must urge you, by every motive, to send on this Detachment without the least possible delay. No considerations are to prevent it. It is our first object to defeat, if possible, the Army now opposed to us here. That the passes in the Highlands may be perfectly secure, you will immediately call in all your Forces now on command at outposts. You must not think of covering a whole Country by dividing them; and when they are ordered in and drawn together, they will be fully competent to repel any attempt that can be made by the Enemy from

below in their present situation. Besides, if you are threatned with an attack, you must get what aid you can from the Militia. The detachment will bring their baggage, but I wish them to come with no more than will be absolutely necessary. That you may not hesitate about complying with this order, you are to consider it as peremptory and not to be dispensed with.⁶¹ Colo. Malcom's Regiment will form a part of the Detachment. I am etc.

P.S. The Troops now ordered need not bring any Artillery.⁶²

To COLONEL MATTHEW POLLOCK

Camp near Pottsgrove, September 23, 1777.

Sir: You are hereby directed to proceed immediately to Bethlehem with the heavy Baggage of the Army; upon your arrival there you are to take a convenient Building and unload and store the Baggage, in order that the Waggon's may return under the conduct of the Waggon Master General or one of his deputies. You are to remain yourself, with a Guard of 200 Men, consisting of such as may be at the time most fatigued and unfit for duty. The remainder to be sent to Camp under charge of their officers with positive directions not to

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61. The peremptoriness of this order may have been due to Putnam's plan to attack simultaneously Staten Island, Powles Hook, York Island, and Long Island "for by information from one quarter and another I have gained knowledge of their Strength, very nearly, at their different posts, and that an enterprize of that kind might be undertaken with good prospects of Success." (See Putnam's letter to Washington. Sept. 13, 1777, in the *Washington Papers*.)

62. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

suffer them to straggle upon the march. Make me a return of the number that you send back, that I may make the Officer accountable for them. In storing the Baggage, let care be taken not to mix that of the different Brigades together. I am &ca.63

To COLONEL JOSEPH THORNBURY⁶⁴

Camp near Potts grove, September 23, 1777.

Sir: I have directed Colo. Pollock to proceed to Bethlehem with the heavy Baggage of the Army, there to have it stored that the Waggon's may return. You will therefore either proceed Yourself to see this business executed or send one of your deputies on whom you can depend. But as your presence in the Army is essentially necessary to regulate your Department, I think you had better send one of your deputies. I am &ca.65

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD⁶⁶

Camp at Potts Grove, September 23, 1777.

Sir: The Enemy have crossed the Schuylkill before the

63. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

64. Wagonmaster General of the Continental Army.

Library of Congress

65. In the writing of Trench Tilghman.

66. Commodore of the Pennsylvania State Navy.

Army and are now on their March for the City of Philadelphia. I think it of the greatest Importance that the Fort upon the Island should be Garrison'd, If we can stop the Enemy's Fleet from coming up and prevent them from getting possession of the Mud fort, and they take possession of the City and our Army moves down upon the back of it, it will be the most effectual method of ruining General Howe's Army, that ever Fortune favoured us with. I could wish you to take out of the Ships and the Row Gallies, two or three hundred Men and Garrison the Fort with them until I can relieve them with some Continental Troops which I design as soon as possible. You will lay the Gallies round the Fort in such a manner, as will prevent the Enemy from landing Men upon the Island. If you think it necessary, for the security of the Fort, to lay the Island under Water, let it be done immediately. I hope you'll exert Yourself and all the Officers under your Command, as far as possible, to secure the Fort, and prevent the Enemy's Fleet from coming up. Let us join our Force and operations both by land and Water in such a manner, as will most effectually Work the Ruin of the Common Enemy, without confining ourselves to any particular Department. There is one thing further I would recommend, which is, that you should have all the Boats immediately collected from the City, and above and below it on both sides the River and taken under the care of your Fleet. This will prevent the Enemy from the means of making an

attempt on the Fort, and also all intercourse with Jersey for obtaining Supplies of Provision. I am etc.⁶⁷

To BARON D'ARENDT

Camp, September 23, 1777.

Library of Congress

Sir: It is of the utmost importance to prevent the Enemy's land Forces and Fleet from forming a junction, which it is almost morally certain they will attempt, by seizing on Fort Island below Philadelphia, if it is possible, and thereby gain the Navigation of the Delaware by weighing and removing the Chevaux Defrize, which have been sunk for that purpose. This post (Fort Island), if maintained, will be of the last consequence, and will effectually hinder them from union. I therefore appoint you to the command of it, and desire that you will repair thither immediately. The defence is extremely interesting to the United States, and I am hopeful will be attended with much honour to yourself and advantages to them. There are Troops there now, and a Detachment to reinforce them will immediately march from this Army. I have nothing further to add, than my wishes for your success and to assure you, that I am etc.⁶⁸

67. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald. It is indorsed by Washington: "Copy of Verbal Instructions sent Commodore Hazzlewd. by Captn. Treat."

68. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Camp near Potts Grove, September 24, 1777.

Sir: This Army has not been able to oppose Genl. Howe's with the success that was wished and needs a Reinforcement. I therefore request, if you have been so fortunate, as to oblige Genl. Burgoyne to retreat to Ticonderoga, or if you have not, and circumstances will admit, that you will order Colo. Morgan to join me again with his Corps. I sent him up, when I thought you materially wanted him, and if his services can be dispensed with now, you will direct his immediate return. You will perceive, I do not mention this by way of command, but leave you to determine upon it according to your situation. If they come, they should proceed by Water from Albany, as low down as Peek's Kill, In such case you will give Colo. Morgan, the necessary orders to join me with dispatch.⁷⁷ I am etc.⁷⁸

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Camp near Potts Grove, September 26, 1777.

Sir: I last night received a Letter from Major General

77. To this letter General Gates replied (October 5): "Since the Action of the 19th Instant, [ultimo] the Enemy have kept the Ground they Occupied the Morning of that Day; and fortified their Camp. The Advanced Centrys of my picquets, are posted within Shot, And Opposite the Enemy's; neither side have given Ground an Inch. In this Situation, Your Excellency would not wish me to part with the Corps the Army of General Burgoyne are most Afraid of." (Burgoyne surrendered on October 17).

78. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the letter sent is in that of Caleb Gibbs and is in the archives of the New York Historical Society. It varies in minor verbal particulars from the draft.

Dickinson informing me that 900 Militia had crossed the Delaware under your command and that they were to march yesterday to Bristol. Considering the position of the Enemy, I am sorry you have fallen down so low, because it will be impossible for you to form a junction with us safely, without countermarching. As the Enemy have possession of Chesnut Hill, it will be necessary for you to march up as high as Bogart's Tavern, from whence you are to turn Westward and proceed, as far as the Baptist meeting House near Bartholemews Tavern. You will then be in the Neighbourhood of this Army, as we shall move that way to day, and if upon your arrival there, you will inform me of it, I will send a guide to conduct you to whatever place we may be. I do not exactly know where the Militia under Colo. Potter are, they were in Philadelphia, and I imagine are taking a circuit to join us. Be pleased to delay no more time upon your March than is absolutely necessary to refresh the Men, as I am very anxious to draw our whole force together.

Library of Congress

Genl. Dickinson informs me, that the particular circumstances of the State of Jersey oblige him to remain there; you will therefore be kind enough to communicate to him as much of the preceding as is necessary. I am etc.

P.S. If you find, before the receipt of this, that the Enemy have left Chesnut Hill and have gone into Philadelphia, you need not take so great a Circuit; you may in that case proceed up the Road

that leads to the Cross Roads near the S.W. Branch of Neshaminy, from whence you may join us.⁸⁰

To COLONEL CLEMENT BIDDLE

Camp near Potts Grove, September 26, 1777.

Sir: You are hereby authorized to impress all the Blankets, Shoes, Stockings [and other Articles of Cloathing] for the use of the Army, that can be spared by the Inhabitants in the Counties of Bucks, Philadelphia and Northampton, paying for the same at reasonable Rates, [or give Certificates].⁸¹

80. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the P.S. is in that of Tench Tilghman.

81. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets were added by Washington. This same impress warrant was given (September 26) to William Henry at Lancaster, Pa.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Head Qurs., Pennybeckers Mill, September 27, 1777.

Library of Congress

Sir: I received your favour of the 26th. Instt. and am sorry to find you cannot bring on so respectable a force as we both cou'd wish, and you had reason to expect; however, must request that you collect your scattered parties as soon as possible, leaving only such as may be necessary to guard the Stores at Trenton, until they are removed. This I have reason to believe will shortly be accomplished, and then you may give directions to the commanding Officer to join you by some safe Route. I would have you to come on by the way of North Wales and fall into the Skippack Road, taking every precaution to avoid the Enemy's left Flank. After leading your Corps into the safe and proper Road, I should be glad you would come on yourself to me. I am etc.⁸⁴

To BRIGADIER GENERAL THOMAS NELSON, JUNIOR

Head Qurs., Pennybeckers Mill, September 27, 1777.

Dear Sir: I this morning received your favour of the 12th. From the present face of things, I am inclined to think General

84. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

Howe's object is so fixed, that Virginia will have but little cause to apprehend any Invasion this Campaign, and I suppose it highly probable, that the Fleet or the greatest part of it, which went into Chesapeak Bay will come round to Delaware. If my conjectures on these heads are right, the keeping all the Militia, that were first Assembled, would incur a heavy expence without any necessity for it. Upon the whole, the dismissal of those you mention by the Governor and Council, appears to me to have been well judged, and I am of opinion all now in service need not be continued. I am exceedingly obliged by your readiness to afford me any assistance in your power. Were the Season not fast approaching when the Weather will be cold, I should perhaps request it. But as that is the case, and the Militia cannot be provided with the necessary Clothing and covering, I must decline it. To this consideration, I would add, that the difficulty of Crossing the Bay with safety, and

Library of Congress

the immense distance to march round it by Land with my expectation that some thing of importance will take place before their Aid could possibly arrive, are also against the measure.

The action which happened on the 11th. near Chadsford, on the Brandywine, you will have heard of. I have not time to give you the particulars. A contrariety of Intelligence, in a critical and important point, contributed greatly, if it did not entirely bring on the Misfortunes of that day. The action however was warm, and I am convinced, the

Enemy's loss was considerable and much superior to ours. After this affair and refreshing our Troops a few days, I determined to try a second Action. For this purpose, I advanced with the Army, as soon as it was in a situation and was pushing to gain the Grounds on their left. I believe we should have effected it, and if not a General attack would have been made on their Front, had not my views unfortunately been totally frustrated by a most severe rain which came on, the day preceding that of the intended Action. This obliged us to change our Route and, continuing with great violence till late in the night, rendered our Arms unfit for use and destroyed almost all the Ammunition in the men's pouches, who were out and exposed during the whole time. Genl. Howe in two days after fell down towards Schuylkill near the Valley forge. We did the same, and passed with the main body of the Army above, and marching down, took post in his Front, while a part of our Force was left to hang on his Rear. In this situation matters remained a day or two, when the Enemy extended themselves up the River, as if they meant to turn our Right and countermarching in the night, crossed some Miles below us; The River being fordable in almost every part. They have advanced towards the City, and were from the last advices at and about Germantown. It is probable some of their parties have entered the City, and their whole Army may, if they incline to do it, without our being able to prevent them. Here I must remark, that our distress for want of Shoes, is

almost beyond conception, and that from this circumstance our operations and pursuit have been impracticable. I am taking every measure to obtain a supply, and I hope to

Library of Congress

be able to move in a short time, especially when we are joined by some Reinforcements that are coming on, and that under the favour of Heaven, our affairs will assume a more agreeable aspect than they now have.

Thus have I given you, for your own information, a Summary account of things here, and have only to add, that from some advices received this Evening, our Arms at the Northward have been attended with more success. The Intelligence seems to be thro' a pretty direct Channel, but yet it is not so authentic, as I could wish. According to the information, Genl. Burgoyne's Army, in an attack on the 19th. on the left wing of ours, was repulsed five times. I shall be happy if it is true, and impatiently wait for a Confirmation. I am etc.⁸⁵

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

September 27, 1777.

Sir: The late movements of the Enemy and their determined purpose to execute their plans, if possible, require that every exertion should be employed on our part to baffle

⁸⁵. The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

and defeat their designs. I therefore desire, that you will march, as soon as you can, with about one Thousand of the Virginia Militia, effective (Rank and file) with their respective Officers, out of those assembled at or coming to Lancaster, and join the Army under my Command. This Number I wish to be composed of those, that are best Armed and equipped for the Season. The remainder that are Armed are to wait at Lancaster for further orders. Those that are not, if there are any such, may return to their Homes as their continuing there or joining the Army in such a situation, will not be attended with any advantages to the States. I have mentioned this, from an apprehension, that there may be some in that predicament, as has been unhappily the case with many from Maryland and this State, who were willing to offer their Service. I cannot prescribe the particular Route by

Library of Congress

which you are to march, as that will depend upon circumstances and the situation of the Enemy. At present, it seems, that it should be thro' Reading. But the face of affairs now may change. I would therefore observe, that you will endeavour, as you advance, to obtain information of the Enemy's and our situation and regulate yourself accordingly. A junction with me, as early as possible, will be highly necessary, and, I trust, your exertions will be directed to accomplish it. I shall be to night in the Neighbourhood of Pottsgrove with the Army, about nine miles above this. I am &ca.

P.S. The Express has a Letter for Colo. Gibson. If he is in your Rear

or on another Route, you will direct him to proceed immediately to him.⁸⁶

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp at Pennybeckers Mill, September 28, 1777.

Dear Sir: I wrote you on the 23d. Instr., lest the Letter should have miscarried by any means, I now inclose you a Copy. I must request your earliest attention to the Contents, and that you will not delay a moment in sending the Troops which are ordered. Their Aid becomes more and more necessary, and I wish you, to urge the Officer, who shall have the command, to join me as soon as possible without injuring and harrassing the men too much. The Route you'll find marked out by the Copy, which they will pursue, with such other directions as are therein given. I have only to add, that your exertions in forwarding them on and theirs to afford me the earliest succour possible, will not only be pleasing, but extremely interesting. I fully expect that neither will be wanting. I am etc.⁹⁰

⁸⁶. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

⁹⁰. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Library of Congress

Camp Pennybecker's Mill, September 29, 1777.

Sir: I received yours of Yesterday from the Buck Tavern, desiring my orders for your Route. I wrote to you Yesterday by Cornet Russworm,⁹² directing you to march to North Wales Meeting and from thence to Wentz's⁹³ upon the Skippack Road; but lest that should have missed you, I now confirm the order and desire you may follow it. When you arrive at Wentz's, you will probably be in the Neighbourhood of this Army as we shall move that way to morrow should the day be fair. I am etc.⁹⁴

To COLONEL LEWIS NICOLA⁹⁵

Camp Pennybeckers Mill, September 29, 1777.

Sir: Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 25th. instant from Fort Mifflin. Before this reaches you, Lt. Colo. Smith⁹⁶ will have thrown himself into the Fort with two hundred Continental Troops, which are all that I could possibly spare. I very much approve of your calling upon Govr. Livingston for a Reinforcement of Jersey Militia, and I think you had better call in the few Men that are at Billings-

92. William Rushworm, cornet, North Carolina Dragoons.

93. Peter Wentz's, in Worcester township. Washington occupied his house for headquarters the middle of October.

94. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

95. Of the Invalid Regiment.

96. Lieut. Col. Samuel Smith, of the Fourth Maryland Regiment. He was wounded at Fort Mifflin on October 23 and received a vote of thanks and a sword from Congress on November 4 for his gallant defense of that fort; resigned in May, 1779.

Library of Congress

-port and if there are any Stores there, remove them to Fort Mifflin.

By this opportunity I transmit Commodore Hazlewood and Captn. Alexander.⁹⁷ Letters from Congress, desiring them to give every assistance towards the defence of the Fort and obstructions in the River; and I inclose you Copy of the General Orders of this day, by which you will see how successful our Arms have been to the Northward. I hope we shall not in the end fall short of them.

Captn. Treat⁹⁸ mentions that there is no quantity of Musket Cartridges in the Garrison, you should therefore immediately procure loose powder from the Ships, if you have none in the Magazine, and set the Men to making up. I put great dependance upon you and all your Officers exerting yourselves in the defence of a post of so much consequence. You must be sensible that Genl. Howe can neither support his Army in Philadelphia, if he is cut off from a communication with his Ships, neither can he make good a retreat should any accident befall him. I am etc.⁹⁹

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, September 30, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have been duly favoured with yours of

97. Capt. Charles Alexander, of the Continental Navy.

98. Capt.-Lieut. Samuel Treat, of the Second Continental Artillery. He was killed at Fort Mifflin Nov. 15, 1777.

99. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

the 10th. instant. With respect to supplying the Continental frigates with ammunition from the Continental magazines, as I have not copies of the Letters you mention⁷ with me, I am not certain how far they may have authorized the measure, but I intirely approve of your

Library of Congress

granting the necessary supply from them. The frigates ought not to want so essential an article, and I know of no other way in which they could be furnished, with equal propriety, if at all.

I am happy to hear of the valuable prizes that have been lately brought into your port. We shall stand in need of all our activity, to increase our supplies by these means, and render them, as far as possible, adequate to our numerous and pressing wants.

The aspect of our Northern affairs, is extremely pleasing; particularly by our last accounts, which give us to hope that Ticonderoga, ere this has fallen into our hands, and that General Burgoyne, after an unsuccessful attack, has been obliged to retreat under circumstances that threaten his ruin. It is of the greatest importance that these favourable prospects may be speedily realized.

Probably, before this reaches you, you will have heard that General Howe, after much manoeuvring, marching and countermarching, has at length gained possession of Philadelphia. Many unlucky incidents prevented in a great measure, the opposition he would have

7. Heath mentioned Washington's letter to him, Apr. 18–19, 1777, *q. v.*, and a letter from Henry Knox to Maj. Francis Barber, for which he did not give a date. The Continental Navy Board for the Eastern District had applied for the powder.

received before he accomplished his purpose; notwithstanding our misfortune on the Brandywine. But though matters have taken a turn different from what we could have wished, I am in hopes, it will not be long before we are in a situation to repair the consequences of our late ill success, and give a more happy complexion to our affairs in this quarter.

I wrote to you some time since, to forward with all dispatch the three additional regiments from your State to this Army. I trust you have expedited this business in a manner suitable

Library of Congress

to the exigency of the occasion, but if any thing remains, that can serve to hasten their coming, I beg it may be done. I am etc.⁸

P.S. Please to deliver the inclosed to Capt. Hill⁹ of the regiment late Patterson's.

[MS.H.S.]

To COMTE PULASKI

Head Quarters, September 30, 1777.

Sir: Upon getting home,¹² I found the inclosed from Genl. Reed.¹³ I therefore desire you will immediately form a Detachment of at least fifty Horse of which part are to be of Colo. Moylans, in their Red Uniforms, which will serve to deceive both the Enemy and Country people.

8. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The draft, which is also in Hamilton's writing, varies in minor particulars from this letter sent.

9. See following letter.

12. Headquarters on this date were at Skippack, Pa.

13. Joseph Reed's letter is not found in the *Washington Papers*, but it seems from Moylan's letter to Washington (October 1) that the purpose of the 50 dragoons was to surprise a small party of British light horse and foragers. Moylan's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

I can give you no better directions than what are contained in Genl. Reed's letter, for the Route that the party is to take, I only recommend it to you, to put it under the command of a good Officer and to send them off immediately. I am &ca.¹⁴

Library of Congress

To CAPTAIN JEREMIAH HILL¹⁰

Head Quarters, September 30, 1777.

Sir: Your Letter of the 6th. Instt. I received some days ago. As the Congress were pleased to vest the Legislature, or Council of the Massachusetts State with the power of appointing Officers to the Several Regiments raised by them, I would not willingly interfere with their Arrangements. I cannot tell the motives which might induce them to promote Captn. Cogswell. I shall be sorry, if any Officer of merit has been aggrieved, and as you conceive, that you have, and request a discharge, I shall not insist on your remaining longer in service, if it is your wish to leave it. Give your Commission to Genl. Heath. I am etc.¹¹

14. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

10. Of the First Massachusetts Regiment. He handed in his resignation Nov. 4, 1777.

11. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To WILLIAM AYLETT

Head Quarters, September 30, 1777.

Sir: I was favoured with your Letter of the 12th. Instr.,¹⁵ a few days ago, advising me of the Appointments you had made in the line of your Department,¹⁶ of which I shall take proper notice.

In respect to your inquiry, most of the public Stores were removed from Elk, except the Grain. This in general fell into the Enemy's hands and was either used or destroyed by them. When they arrived, there were several Vessels in the Harbour, which were certainly taken, as they could not fall down below them; But whose property they were, or whether

Library of Congress

any of them were those in which you were interested, are Facts I cannot ascertain. I have been told that they burnt some, such, I suppose, as they had no use for. I am etc.17

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, October 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have yours of the 27th. and 28th. Ult., and am

15. Aylett's letter, dated Sept. 12, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.

16. Deputy Commissary General of Purchases, Southern Department.

17. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

glad to find that the Reinforcement I ordered, is in such forwardness. I make no doubt but some Troops have arrived at New York from Europe, but I am pretty certain they are not any thing like so numerous as your informant mentions. I know it has been their Custom thro' the whole Campaign, to swell their Reinforcements much beyond what they really were. If Genl. Burgoyne is defeated, or hindered from making any further progress, as we may reasonably infer he is from the last accounts, the North River will be no Object for the Enemy. I rather think, if Genl. Clinton moves at all, it will be thro' Jersey to form a junction with Genl. Howe.

I do not fully understand, from part of your Letter of the 27th., whether the Cannon were brought from Springfield by order of Congress or your own, I can hardly think the latter, because I do not know that they were wanted at Peekskill. Upon inquiring of Genl. McDougall, he tells me that each Brigade had its full compliment of Artillery; but recommends it to you to have two of the heaviest pieces mounted upon travelling Carriages and kept to annoy any Vessels that may attempt to lay in the River near you, the remainder to be sent up to Fishkill, to which place I would wish you to remove your Supernumerary Arms and Stores of every kind. That matters may go regularly on in every

Library of Congress

department, I could wish you would inform me, before you order any Quantity of Artillery, Arms or Ordnance Stores from Springfield; you may always depend upon being supplied with what is necessary, and I shall then always

know exactly what are your resources.

If Genl. McDougall should be mistaken in his opinion, that all the Continental Brigades have their compliment of Artillery, you will in that case have them completed before you send the Cannon to Fishkill. I am etc.

P.S. You must urge Govt. Trumbull, in the most pressing manner, to send in Militia to replace the Continental Troops that are drawn from you, I have wrote to him upon the Subject, but I beg you will also back the request.¹⁸

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Head Quarters, October 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: The vast quantity of Stores of different kinds that are accumulated at Trenton will make it a work of some time to remove them, and if they are left intirely uncovered, it may tempt the Enemy to send up a light party to destroy them; I shall therefore be glad if you will endeavour to throw in a Body of your Militia to mount a guard over the Stores till they are removed. I must leave the number to you, as I do not know what disposition you have made of your force. I would only hint, that the importance of the Stores is such,

¹⁸. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

that I could wish it may be as respectable as possible. I am &ca.¹⁹

To COLONEL JONATHAN MIFFLIN

Head Quarters, October 1, 1777.

Library of Congress

Sir: I am exceedingly anxious for the removal of our Stores from Trenton. It is, in the present situation of things, a very insecure place, particularly since the Capture of the Delaware frigate, which will facilitate any enterprise the Enemy may form for their destruction. The loss of them would be irreparable, and it is consequently of the last importance you should exert your utmost activity to remove them with all possible expedition. But there are some things, for the safety of which, your first attention ought to be employed. Such are Military Stores, Articles of Clothing and whatever else we are in immediate want of, and can with difficulty, procure. These you will by all means get away in the first place. Provisions and such things as the Country readily affords may with more propriety be risked to the last. But not a moment should be lost, nor any industry spared to get the whole off, as speedily as the nature of things will permit.

In order to expedite the business, of removing the Stores out of more immediate danger, I should wish you

19. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

to make some shorter intermediate stage between Bethlehem or Easttown²⁰ and Trenton, where you could deposit them for the present, and afterwards convey them to the places designed.

The urgent necessity that the Stores should be immediately secured, forbids our being over scrupulous in providing the means of doing it. If the civil power will not aid you with energy in getting Waggon, you must not want them on that account, but must make a good use of the means you have, and get them at all events. Punctilios, in this emergency, must not hinder our doing whatever is essential to the good of the Service.

Let me know what progress you have already made, and what prospects you have for the future. Advise me daily if you can, how you go on. I am &ca.

Library of Congress

P.S. I have written to General Dickinson to endeavour to send some Troops in addition to those now at Trenton to cover the Stores. It wilt be happy, if he can do it, but it should by no means relax your efforts for their removal.²¹

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, October 1, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 27th. Ult. by
20. Easton, Pa.

21. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

Major Mullen²² and am sorry to hear that you found matters so much out of order at Fort Mifflin. Much must depend upon your activity and that of the Other Officers in Garrison. Two Waggon loads of Ammunition were sent off from Trenton the moment Major Mullen arrived there, and I have directed Mr. Mease the Clothier General to forward the necessaries wanted for your detachment. The Capture of the Delaware Frigate is a most unlucky circumstance, and what, from every account, seems to be the effect of treachery and not of the chance of War. Should you have occasion for Ammunition in future, the inclosed order from Genl. Knox will cause the delivery without applying to me, the Ammunition will be removed some distance above Trenton. I am &ca.²³

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM PALFREY

October 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: As the Troops are applying for their pay for the month of August, and as it is inconvenient for the Warrants to be sent so far as Bethlehem to be paid, I request that you will join the Army, as soon as you can with the Military Chest, If the contents will answer or are nearly sufficient for the

Library of Congress

22. Maj. Thomas Mullens. He was brigade major to Borre and aide to General Conway; returned to France in June, 1778.

23. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

purpose. You should advise the Congress of the state from time to time, that you may receive the necessary supplies. I am etc.²⁴

To COLONEL HENRY HOLLINGSWORTH⁶⁰

Head Qurs., Philadelphia County, October 6, 1777.

Sir: You will oblige me much, if you will immediately upon the receipt of this, set about making the most Minute inquiry into the number and situation of the Enemy at Wilmington. I imagine both these points may be ascertained with precision, as I am informed there is a very free intercourse between the Country and Town. The principal matters to be inquired into are. The force of the Enemy, where posted and whether in Barracks or Camp. Where their Artillery is placed. Whether they have any Lines or Redoubts and where, where their pickets are and of what numbers they consist. When you have gained a competent knowledge of the above, I beg you will inform me by Letter, or if you can spare the time, I shall be glad to see you personally.

I am informed that there is a considerable quantity of Corn and other Grain belonging to the public which the Enemy did not destroy when they left Elk, I shall be

24. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

60. Superintendent of flour magazines for Lancaster and Chester Counties, Maryland and Delaware. Later he was Deputy Forage Master General and Deputy Quartermaster General.

Library of Congress

much obliged if you will endeavour to procure Waggons and have it removed some distance inland. I should suppose it would be safest over towards Lancaster, but as you are well acquainted with the Country I leave the place to your own discretion. I am etc.⁶¹

To JOHN GILL⁶²

Camp at Pawlins Mill, October 6, 1777.

Sir: Licutt. Dongan⁶³ has waited upon me to know in what manner you can best employ the Militia of Bucks. I think at present you cannot do better than to post them upon the different Roads leading to Philadelphia, beginning at the Bristol Road and extending across the Country to the Westward. The Guards should fall down as near Philadelphia, as they possibly can and pay particular attention to stopping all persons from going in with marketing. If any are taken coming out of the town from whom any particular information is obtained, let the Officer who receives the information report it to me. If any persons leave the Country and go in to the Enemy, their Horses and Cattle should be immediately secured for the public [and sent to this Army] leaving their Milch Cows and a Horse or two to draw Wood &ca. for support of their families. I am &ca.⁶⁴

61. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

62. Sub-lieutenant of Bucks County, Pa.

63. Lieut. Garret Dunghan, of the First Battalion, Bucks County, Pa., militia.

64. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The phrase in brackets was inserted by Washington.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Skippack Camp, October 7, 1777.

Library of Congress

Dear Sir: Congress having recommended it to me to send an Engineer to Fort Montgomery, I have instantly dispatched Lt. Colo. Radiere⁷⁸ upon that Service. He is the second in command of four Gentlemen sent out by Doctr. Franklin and Mr. Deane.

The Congress have transmitted me Copy of a letter from you to them, of the 29th. Septr., in which you express your doubts of being able to defend the posts⁷⁹ upon the North River with the force you will have left after detaching 2500 Men to this Army. Before I ordered this Detachment, I consulted those best acquainted with the Strength of the passes and they all agreed, that about two thousand Men at Peek's Kill and Fort Montgomery would be sufficient to repel any force that would probably be sent against you.

Now by your Return of the 5th. Septr. you would have 1800 effective rank and file left, after sending off the Detachment; besides these, the non Commissioned ought to be counted upon and some of the Invalids, for in the defence of Stationary posts, every Man that can lift a Musket must do his duty.

I think you will find that you have far over rated Genl. Clinton's force at New York, I am certain you have

78. Lewis de la Radiate. He was lieutenant colonel and colonel of Engineers, Continental Army; died in 1779.

79. Forts Clinton and Montgomery, on the west side of the Hudson and a little below West Point, were captured by Sir Henry Clinton October 6. Putnam, in command in the Highlands, was easily outwitted, and Clinton attacked and captured the forts before Putnam could manage a reenforcement. The British feinted an attack on Peekskill, drew 500 of Putnam's troops over to the east bank, reembarked, landed on the west bank, marched from Kings Ferry around the mountains, and attacked both the forts from the land side. The assault on Fort Montgomery lasted from 2 p.m. until dark, when the place was evacuated. The two Continental frigates guarding the chain in the river were burned. Gov.

Library of Congress

George Clinton was in command at Fort Montgomery and marched the remains of the garrison to New Windsor. His letter to Washington (October 9) and Putnam's two letters of October 8 put the best face possible upon a bungled defense.

in regard to the late Reinforcements. But I imagine the thing has been tried before this time, as Colo. Hay has sent me an Express, informing me that the Ships went up the River and began to land their men upon the 4th. instant. I am anxious to hear from you. I have wrote to Govr. Livingston desiring him to send the Jersey Militia up the North River, as there can be no danger of an invasion in that State, the Enemy having shewn that their preparations were against you. I am etc.⁸⁰

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Camp Pawlins Mill, October 7, 1777

Sir: I desire you will, immediately upon the receipt of this, detach Colo. Greene's⁸¹ and Colo. Angell's⁸² Regiments with their Baggage.⁸³ with orders to throw themselves into the Fort at Red Bank upon the Jersey Shore. This important post commands and defends the Chevaux de frize and unless Kept in our possession, our Vessels of War must quit their station and thereby leave the Enemy at liberty to weigh the Chevaux de frize and open the free Navigation of the River. These Regiments are not to take any Artillery with them. Genl. Greene has wrote a particular letter to Colo. Greene, in which he will find instructions. I

⁸⁰. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

⁸¹. Col. Christopher Greene, of the First Rhode Island Regiment. He was thanked and presented with a sword by Congress (Nov. 4, 1777) for his gallant defense of Red Bank, N.J.; killed in a skirmish with De Lancey's corps in Westchester County, N. Y., in May, 1781.

Library of Congress

82. Col. Israel Angell, of the Second Rhode Island Regiment. He retired in May, 1781.

83. At this point the draft has the following crossed out: "I shall send down an Officer and a detachment of Artillery Men to work the heavy Cannon at the fort, therefore if there are any Men particularly attached"

desire the detachment may march with the utmost dispatch by the following Route. From the place where this reaches you to Bristol and from thence across Delaware to Burlington, from Burlington to Mount Holly, from Mount Holly to Haddenfield, from Haddenfield to Woodberry, from Woodberry to Red Bank. I am etc.⁸⁴

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Pawlings Mill, October 8, 1777.

Sir: I send you the foregoing duplicate of mine of Yesterday to prevent any delay or disappointment from miscarriages, as it is of the utmost importance no time should be lost in forwarding the detachment to the place of its destination. The Army here marches this morning, from hence to the Baptist meeting House in Montgomery Township, whither you will direct your course by the Shortest Route and effect a junction as soon as possible. I am &ca.⁹⁸

P.S. Here with is a letter of instructions to Col. Greene, which, please, immediately forward to him.⁹⁹

84. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

98. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

99. The P.S. is from the printed text in the *Magazine of American History*, vol. 7.

To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

Head Quarters, October 8, 1777.

Sir: I have directed Genl. Varnum to send your Regiment and that of Colo. Angell to Red Bank, by a Route which has been marked out to him. The command of that detachment will of course devolve upon you, with which you will proceed with all expedition and throw yourself into that place. When you arrive there you will immediately communicate your arrival to Colo. Smith, commander of the Garrison at Fort Mifflin, and Commodore Hazelwood, commander of the fleet in the River. You are to Cooperate with them in every measure necessary for the defence of the obstructions in the River and to counteract every attempt the Enemy may make for their removal. You will find a very good fortification at Red bank, but if any thing should be requisite to render it stronger or proportion it to the size of your Garrison, you will have it done. The cannon you will stand in need of, as much as can be spared, will be furnished from the Gallies and Fort Mifflin, from whence also you will derive Supplies of Military Stores. Capt. Blewer is charged with Supplying Provisions, you will apply to him for what you want, and as this is a matter on which much depends, I would wish you to inform yourself what stock there is, and to promote every precaution for securing a Sufficiency. I have sent Capt. Du Plessis,¹ with some Officers and Men to take the

1. Chevalier Thomas Antoine Mauduit du Plessis, major and aide to Knox. He fought bravely at the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and as an engineer he improved tile fortification at Red Bank. After the desperate defense of that post he volunteered and succeeded in blowing up the magazine without any of the usual implements for such a piece of work. Congress made him a brevet lieutenant colonel, and on his return to France in November, 1778, directed the President to present to him a written testimonial of the high esteem Congress entertained for him for zeal, bravery, and good conduct while in America.

Library of Congress

immediate direction of the Artillery for your Garrison. He is also to superintend any Works that may be wanted. If there should be any deficiency of men for the Artillery, the security of the Garrison will require you to assist him with a few additional from your detachment.

You should lose not a moment's time in getting to the place of your destination and making every proper preparation for its defence. Any delay might give the Enemy an opportunity of getting there before you, which could not fail being of the most fatal consequence. If in the progress of your march you should fall in with any detachment of the Enemy bending towards the same object, and likely to gain it before you, and from intelligence should have reason to think yourself equal to the task, you will by all means attack them, and endeavour by that mean to disappoint their design. I have written to Genl. Newcomb of the Jersey Militia, to give you all the aid in his power, for which you will accordingly apply, when necessary.

Upon the whole Sir, you will be pleased to remember that the post with which you are now intrusted is of the utmost importance to America, and demands every exertion you are capable of, for its security and defence, The whole defence of the Delaware absolutely depends upon it, and consequently all the Enemy's hopes of keeping Philadelphia, and finally succeeding in the object of the

present Campaign. Influenced by these considerations, I doubt not your regard to the Service and your own reputation, will prompt you to every possible effort to accomplish the important end of your trust and frustrate the intentions of the Enemy.²

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Camp at Pawlins Mill, October 7, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with both yours of the 3d. and am sorry to find that so dastardly a spirit prevailing in the Navy, but I hope there will still be good men enough left to defend the Fort and obstructions till we can give them a decisive stroke by land. I have the pleasure

Library of Congress

to inform you, that we made a general attack upon the Enemy at Germantown upon the morning of the 4th. We surprised them and threw their whole Army into confusion, and had not the foginess of the morning prevented us from seeing the advantage we had gained, it would have ended in a complete victory, as they themselves have confessed. However they have suffered considerably. Genl. Agnew was killed and

2. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton, who dated these instructions October 7 at the beginning and October 8 at the end.

Sr. William Erskine desperately wounded. Their return of killed and wounded amounts to upwards of 700. as we are informed by a person come out since the Action. We shall have a large Reinforcement from the Northward and Southward in a day or two, and you may assure the Officers of the Army and Navy, that no time shall be lost in following our blow effectually and thereby giving relief to all our posts. I think this may be so much sooner effected by keeping our whole force together and acting powerfully with them, that I shall pursue that course rather than detach a part to operate against their detachments. For you must be very sensible that if their Main Body is defeated, their small parties must fall of course. I beg you will communicate this Letter to the Gentlemen of the Navy and let them see how much depends upon their brave opposition to the last moment. I am &ca.

P.S. I have just received an Account that 200 Waggon went into Philada. with wounded; if so, the loss is more than I have mentioned.⁸⁵

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Camp Pawlins Mill, October 7, 1777.

Sir: Upon Captn. Blewens⁸⁶ representation of the

85. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Library of Congress

86. Joseph Blewer, chairman of the Pennsylvania State Navy Board.

importance of Red Bank, I have determined to Garrison it immediately strongly with Continental Troops, who are now upon their march. Till they arrive, I beg you will do all in your power to keep possession of the Ground, should the Enemy attempt to take it. With the assistance of this force upon the land I hope you will be enabled to keep your Station with your fleet, and if you can do that, I have not the least doubt but we shall by our operations by land and Water oblige the Enemy to abandon Philadelphia. I have wrote to General Newcomb to assist the Garrison with as many Militia as he can spare. I am &c.

P.S. I intend to send down Captn. Mauduit⁸⁷ to command the Artillery. I beg you will afford him every assistance of Cannon and Stores, and if he should want a few Men to Work the Guns, I beg he may have such as have been used to it. I think you should not lose one moment in possessing the ground at Red Bank.⁸⁸

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, October 8, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favour of 2d. Instt., I received Yesterday,

87. Mauduit du Plessis.

88. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

and I understand that General Varnum with his Brigade got as far as Coryell's Ferry last night. I expect such Measures will be taken as not to let the Army under Genl. Gates suffer at present for want of Flour; and that things may be put in such a train that a circumstance of that kind cannot possibly happen in future. I sincerely wish with you, that a better Regulation could take place in the Commissary Department; as, either by a fault in its constitution or an unpardonable neglect in the Executive part, this Army has been clogged

Library of Congress

and retarded in some of its most important and interesting Marches, until the opportunity of doing what was intended, was intirely lost. I expect your Exertions in calling out the Connecticut Militia may have its proper Weight; tho' I cannot be of opinion that the Enemy have left any thing like the number of men at New York, which your intelligence informs You of.

In pursuance of a concerted Plan, we Marched on friday night last to attack Genl. Howe's Army which lay at 12 or 13 Miles distance. We drove in their Pickets about 6 in the morning, the men pursued with great Eagerness and bravery and Surmounted every opposition; the Enemy were routed in the greatest confusion several Miles, we passed thro' their Encampments and took some pieces of Cannon; in short, we were flattered with every

appearance of a most glorious and decesive action, when to my great surprise our men began to give way; which, when the Line was one broke became pretty general and could not with our utmost Exertions be prevented, and the only thing left was to draw them off in the best manner we could, which was effected without any very considerable loss, as we brought off our cannon &ca. In this action Brigr. Genl. Nash (of the Carolina forces) was mortally wounded and several others of great Bravery, but inferior note were Wounded, some dangerously and some Slightly. General Agnew on the side of the Enemy, I believe, is killed on the spot, and report says that one or two other General Officers are wounded. Upon the whole I have no doubt but their loss was at least equal, if not much greater than ours, and it has served to convince our people, that when they make an attack, they can confuse and Rout even the Flower of the British Army, with the greatest ease, and that they are not that invincible Body of Men which many suppose them to be. The accounts coming in hourly from Philadelphia, make the Loss of the Enemy much greater than we Imagined, they say that more than 200 Waggon's came in Loaded with their Wounded, that Genl. Agnew is killed, and Generals Erskine and Grant badly Wounded, besides several Colonels and Officers of note.

Library of Congress

I have spoke to Mr. Boudinot about some Flour, which was to be sent into our prisoners at New York; this may be applied to any uses of the Army which you think necessary.

By a Letter from Mr. Hawkes Hay, I understand the Enemy have pushed a number of men up the North River and landed on the East side, in Expectation I suppose of finding few or no men at your Post. I am fully satisfied that every thing in your power will be done towards calling in Reinforcements and making a vigorous defence, assuring you, that the number of the Enemy cannot possibly be great, even should they leave New York, Staten and Long Island quite bare. I am etc.⁸

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Camp, Pawlins Mills, October 8, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit you an Account of an Action between the American Army and that of the British, laying at Germantown, upon the Morning of the 4th. instant. Having obtained information of the Situation of the Enemy, we determined to endeavour to do something by way of surprise. We, accordingly, marched all night, and reached the Town by break of day. We attacked upon two Quarters, upon both of which, we were successful; but the Morning was so excessively foggy, that we could not see the Confusion the Enemy were in, and the advantage we had gained; and, fearing to push too far

8. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

thro' a Strong Village, we retired after an engagement of two hours, bringing off all our Artillery with us. We did not know, till after the affair was over, how near we were to gaining a compleat victory; but, we have since learned from deserters and others that have come out, that preparations were making to retreat to Chester. While the action lasted, it was pretty severe. Our loss will amount, in killed and wounded, to upwards of three hundred. What that of the Enemy is we do not exactly know; but one deserter tells us, that, when he came away, the Returns amounted to upwards of 700, among which

Library of Congress

are Genl. Agnew killed, and Sr. Willm. Erskine badly wounded. Other Accounts say, that upwards of 200 Waggon's went into Philadelphia, loaded with wounded; if this is true their loss is more than the deserter mentions. Upon the whole, our Men are in high Spirits, and much pleased with the fortune of the day, tho' not so compleatly lucky as could have been wished. I have the honor etc.⁸⁹

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG

Head Quarters, October 8, 1777.

Sir: You are immediately to send Genl. Potter with about 600 of your militia across the Schuylkill, with directions to keep himself in such a situation as will be most convenient for
89. Contemporary copy is in an unidentified hand. The date is written over, so that it could be either October 7 or 8. The indorsement gives the date as the 8th.

interrupting the enemy's intercourse, between Philadelphia and Chester &ca. He is to take every method to keep himself well acquainted with what is doing, and to embrace every opportunity of cutting off the convoys and intercepting the dispatches passing between their army and shipping; and to use every method to prevent their getting supplies from the country around them, and in a word to give them all the annoyance and disturbance he can. I would not mean to bend him to any precise position or mode of acting, to answer the ends proposed; but leave him to his own discretion to pursue such measures as circumstances shall point out. It appears to me however, that Newtown Square⁴ would be a good general place of rendezvous, from which he might send out his detachments, as he should judge proper, and to which they might resort, as often as any plan or event should make it requisite. It is not my wish he should be stationary; because by keeping in one place, he would not only be more liable to a surprise and attack; but would have it less in his power to perplex and injure the enemy. These however are only intended as hints, which he can use and improve as his own judgment shall direct. As a few horse will

Library of Congress

be extremely useful with this detachment, I would have you send such a part of those with you, as you and General Potter shall deem sufficient.

Be pleased to communicate this letter to him; to which I shall only add, that, I confide in General Potters

4. Newtown Square is in Delaware County, 10 or 15 miles west of Philadelphia.

utmost vigilance against being surprised, which he may with certainty expect the enemy will attempt. For this purpose, he will be careful to keep continually out proper scouts and patrols of horse and foot. I am etc.

P.S. If Genl. Potters Brigade does not greatly exceed the number mentioned for the detachment, let him take his whole Brigade with him. I shall expect to be punctually advised of every thing that happens or any intelligence that comes to his knowledge.⁵

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL LEWIS DE LA RADIERE

Skippack Camp, October 8, 1777.

Sir: I have this Evening received the following Resolution of Congress passed the 6th. instant.

That General Washington be directed, if the situation of his army will admit, to send one of the four Engineers to do duty at Fort Montgomery and the defences on Hudson's River.

In Consequence of this Resolve, I desire you will immediately proceed to Fort Montgomery and there take upon you the direction of such Works, as shall be deemed necessary by the commanding Officer in that Department. I am &ca.⁶

5. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

Library of Congress

6. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

***To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER**

Fredk. Wampools, October 9, 1777.

Dear Sir: A Person of the name of Patterson (an Inhabitant of Wilmington) can give you a particular Acct. of the Situation, strength &ca. of the Enemy at that place; from whence you may judge of the practicability of attempting something by way of Surprize (if your numbers are adequate) upon the garrison. After having made every necessary enquiry proper for an enterprize of this kind let me know the result by an Officer and whether the undertaking is feasible with, or without, a little aid from hence.

Your enquiries into these matters should be made with much Circumspection, to avoid giving alarm, and your Manœuvres should be towards the Enemy and retrogade occasionally to lull them into security unless your own strength is sufficient to effect the Work, in that case the rapidity of the attempt may perhaps contribute to the Success of it.

You will readily perceive that nothing herein, is positive, but altogether discretionary; to be undertaken, or not, as circumstances and Information shall warrant. If a Successful blow could be aim'd at Wilmington, very happy consequences would result from it, besides possessing

ourselves of the wounded that now are there for the purpose of Exchanging for such Prisoners of ours as are in the Enemy's hands; but in the midst of this it is not to be forgotten, that the great object of your expedition is to deprive the Enemy of Supplies from Chester County and to Interrupt their Convoys from Chester Town, Wilmington &ca. whilst our defence upon the River, obliges them to have recourse to a Transportation of necessaries by Land from their Shipping. Watch the Communication between Phila. and the Enemy's Shipping well, and let me hear from you frequently, especially on the Subject of the proposed Expedition. Patterson can point out others to you (Inhabitants

Library of Congress

of Wilmington) who he thinks would give every aid in their power; but then, danger may attend the Comn. of the Scheme to too many. If an Idea was thrown out that the Corps you Commanded consisted of the Eastern Shore Militia returning, it might possibly remove suspicion of the real design (if it should be found practicable to make an attempt upon the Enemy at Wilmington) with your Troops alone. I am etc.

To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

Skippack Camp, October 9, 1777.

Sir: I have received some accounts from Jersey

which makes it unnecessary to send more than one Regiment there at present. You will therefore proceed to Red Bank¹¹ with your own with all dispatch, and send Colo. Angell's back to join General Varnum. I am, etc.¹²

11. On October 10 Alexander Hamilton wrote, by Washington's direction, a letter to Brig. Gen. Silas Newcomb, of the Rhode Island Militia, requesting him to hold his troops in readiness to march to Red Bank. This letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

12. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Skippack Camp, October 11, 1777.

Dear Sir: I received a line from Colo. Hay, dated the 4th. instant, in which he informed me that the Enemy had landed at Verplanks point. The Express, who was stationed at Kings Ferry, came off and also informs me that a party landed at the same time upon the West side of the River. I have not received a line from you respecting the matter, which makes me conclude that your dispatches have been intercepted by some of the disaffected upon

Library of Congress

the Road. If this reaches you, I beg I may hear from you immediately. I have just received a letter from Governor Livingston of the 8th. instr., in which he informs me, that he had, in consequence of my request, ordered three thousand Jersey Militia to march immediately to the Highlands, and I am not without hopes that part of them will arrive before the Enemy have made too great progress. I am &ca.²⁴

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Skippack Camp, October 11, 1777.

Sir: I received yours of the 19th. informing of the

24. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter sent was an A. L. S. and is stated to be in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society.

occasion of the late firing. I imagine the Enemy still persist in their attempt, as the firing has continued by intervals ever since.²⁵ As the rear of the Fort is only defended by a picket Work, I think you ought to lose no time in throwing up a Bank against the picket, which would strengthen it and make it defensible against Shot. If some blinds were thrown up, within the Area of the Fort they would be a security against Shells, of which I think you are in more danger than from Shot, you seem apprehensive, if the Enemy possess province Island, that your Men must quit their Barracks, in that case you should think of finding out some more secure place of Sheltering them. I cannot at present think of any place better than between the East face of the Stone Fort and the lower Battery, they will at least be safe there until an attack begins from the Water. I desired Capt. Blewer, who went from hence Yesterday, to caution the Commodore against an unnecessary expenditure of Ammunition and beg that you would also be careful in that point, for should the Enemy cut off your intercourse with us, you will find the want of it.²⁶ I am etc.

Library of Congress

P.S. Should the Enemy get possession of the ground near the Pest Houses, what effect wou'd their fire have upon Shipping? If this ground would be advantageous to us, do you think part of your garrison, part of that intended for

25. "Two days ago [October 9] the Enemy erected a Battery at the mouth of Schuylkill, to secure passage at Webbs Ferry. The Commodore ordered several Galleys to attack it for a considerable time, and after very little firing the Enemy ceas'd having lost several men.... Last night the Enemy crossed Webb Ferry and erected a redoubt opposite the Fort within two Musket shots of the Blockhouse. Early in the Morning it was discovered and the Commodore immediately order'd three Galleys and one of the Floating Batteries to attack the redoubt which they did very warmly. The garrison soon surrendered, but another party of British approaching, Lt. Col. Smith opened fire upon them, whereupon the garrison that had surrendered fled and only one lieutenant, one ensign and fifty six privates were held. One of the chevaux de frise was dragged up by the British."— *William Bradford and John Hazelwood to Washington*, Oct. 11, 1777. This letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

26. Lieutenant Colonel Smith bad written to Washington (October 9):“ I shall in that case be oblig'd to cover my men, and should they keep up their fire at night, it will oblige us to sleep in the open air, which will soon destroy my small party. I have already sent away 6 men and one Officer Sick and this day shall send off 12 Men and 2 Officers Sick, besides this we have 7 more in Garrison unfit for duty; however, if they keep their men in the Marshes two or three days, they must in this weather become equally sickly. From the Number of the Enemy we saw on the Shore, I am of Opinion they have at least 750 men, perhaps 1000 with them. I have now 200 Effective men in Garrison. The Number of wounded in last Saturday's engagement [at Germantown], by every Account we can get from the City, exceed 1200.” Tench Tilghman has noted on this letter: “Write to Newcomb to take Boats of the Creeks. Advise Colo. Smith to build Cover for the men under the

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East Face of the Fort.” Colonel Smith's letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

Red Bank, and some militia from Jersey could possess and defend it? It is my wish, that Colo. Greene and you, in concert with the Gentlemen of the Navy, would turn your attention to every place which will contribute to the defence of the Water obstructions, and if it is in my power to afford assistance I will do it.²⁷

To MAJOR JOHN JAMESON

Head Quarters, October 11, 1777.

Sir: You are immediately to proceed with the detachment under your command to Chester County, and there collect as many horses as you can find, proper for the service of the light dragoons. You are also to make collections from the inhabitants, of as many blankets, shoes, Stockings and other articles of covering and cloathing, which are wanted for the use of the army, as you can possibly procure, giving receipts, if required, of what you take and at all events keeping an exact list of the names of the persons from whom you get them, and the number or quantity you get from each, which you are to report to me, in order that a future settlement may be made with the proprietors. In the prosecution of this business, you are to endeavour to make a discrimination between the well affected and disaffected inhabitants. Taking from the former with a more

27. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

sparing and indulgent hand than from the latter; as far as this can be done consistent with a proper attention to our wants and necessities, which you well know to be great and pressing. I have written to General Potter, desiring him to give you all the aid in his power, you will accordingly apply to him for such assistance as you may stand in need of, for the more effectual execution of the business you are sent upon.²⁸

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Skippack Camp, October 11, 1777.

Sir: Colo. Smith informs me that the Enemy have been raising Batteries near the Landing place at Webbs Ferry, with an intent to cover their passage over to Province Island. If the Battery is erected upon the meadow or upon the Wharf, it may be much injured or the approach to it from the City rendered very difficult by cutting the meadow banks in five or six places from the mouth of Schuylkill up to the mouth of Hollander's Creek and laying the whole Country under Water. If the Dyke that dams out Hollanders Creek was likewise cut, it would contribute much to raise the Water. This should be done in the night, and when it is once effected, the Gallies might

28. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

keep any persons from repairing the breaches. I beg this may be done as speedily as possible and with secrecy. As the security of the Fleet and the obstructions depends upon keeping possession of Fort Mifflin and Red Bank, I hope you will Cooperate with the Gentlemen in the Land Service, and endeavour to make use of every mean to effect so salutary a measure. I am etc.

P.S. Was any thing ever done towards destroying the Hay upon the meadows below Philadelphia, I think, I recommended it to you by Colo. Smith when he went down.²⁹

To BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND

Headquarters, October 12, 1777.

Sir: I have duly received your favour of the 15th ult'o from Fort Pitt, giving me an account of the state of your garrison. I am sorry your force is not more adequate to the uses you have for it, and that such coldness appears in the neighbouring inhabitants as to preclude

Library of Congress

the assistance you had a right to expect from them. Under the circumstances you mention, I have no objection to you detaining any of the Continental troops now with you; except those which belong to the 8th Pennsylvania regiment. The detention of these tends to the ruin of the whole

29. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

regiment; for those who remain, finding that such as have heretofore deserted, escape punishment and are countenanced in staying from their corps, are encouraged by that circumstance to follow their example, so that desertions become every day more frequent among them, and will soon, if not put a stop to, reduce the regiment to nothing.

This consideration induced me to desire, that you will at all events, immediately on the receipt of this, take the most effectual measures to forward to camp all the officers and men of the regiment, who either compose a part of your garrison, or are within your reach except such officers as may have authentic vouchers of their being on any necessary business of the regiment, and have not overstaid time, in executing it. I am etc.³⁷

To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

Head Quarters, October 14, 1777.

Sir: Commodore Hazelwood informs me, that the desertions from the fleet have left him exceedingly deficient in men, which must greatly enfeeble his operations. As I imagine there is likely to be a number of men accustomed to the water in your garrison, I must desire, you will immediately draft all such and deliver them for the Commodore, for the use of the fleet.

37. In private hands. The original was sold at auction in 1893. The draft, in the writing of Alexander Hamilton, dated Oct. 23, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

Library of Congress

It is essential he should have a sufficiency of hands and the men cannot possibly be more usefully employed than with him.

It is my wish that you should, and I dare say you will be ready to assist Colo. Smith, in any enterprise he may form for the security of his post, and to prevent the success of the enemy's attempts for its reduction. I have directed him to apply to you for whatever assistance he may want, and you can afford. I am etc.⁴⁶

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, October 14, 1777.

Sir: Yours of the 12th. I received Yesterday. I am sorry your attempts to get possession of the enemy's batteries have hitherto failed. I hope your future endeavours may be more successful. If they once get their batteries fairly erected, the situation of your Garrison will no doubt become very trying; but I dare say, they will be duly impressed with the importance of the trust committed to them, and will manifest a proportionable degree of fortitude.

In order to render the assistance of the Gallies more effectual, I am endeavouring to supply their deficiency of men from the army. In the mean time, I have desired Colonel Greene to furnish all the seamen he may have, and to give you every

46. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

assistance in his power in the execution of any enterprise you may find necessary.⁴⁷ I am etc.⁴⁸

47. On October 14 Tench Tilghman, by direction of Washington, wrote to Capt. Benjamin Ayres, Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General, to strip and remove from the vessels at Trenton all sails, rigging, and stores. Any ammunition was to be sent to Commodore

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Hazelwood. On October 15 Tilghman, by Washington's direction, ordered Brig. Gen. Silas Newcomb to march his New Jersey Militia to Red Bank, build huts within the fort, guard against a surprise at night, and hold the place to the last extremity or as long as Colonel Smith succeeded in holding Fort Mifflin, which lay opposite to Red Bank. Col. Israel Angell, with a regiment of Continentals, was to join Newcomb. These letters are in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

48. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

October 14, 1777.

Sir: I yesterday received your favour of the 12th. In consequence of your request, I have ordered a return to be made, of all the Seamen in the Army, and if they can be found, shall furnish you with the number you desire, or if the whole number cannot be had, I will collect and send you as many as I can. I have also directed Colo. Greene, who it is probable will have some

men in his party accustomed to the Water, to select them for the use of your Fleet. You will apply to him accordingly.

Your spirited exertions in defence of the River, have my warmest acknowledgements, and I have the fullest confidence that they will be continued to the utmost of your ability, and that you will persevere in a conduct, suitable to the importance of your trust. Be assured, I will cooperate with you by every effort in my power.

Let me know how you stand with respect to Ammunition, and if deficient, whether any steps are taking to procure a supply. I am etc.⁴⁵

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Library of Congress

Head Quarters, October 15, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 8th. and 10th. instt. giving me the account of the loss of Fort Montgomery and the Evacuation of Peek's Kill in consequence of it, but I am very glad to find that you had previously removed the greater part of the Stores. This stroke would have perhaps proved fatal to our northern affairs in its consequences, had not the defeat of Genl. Burgoyne so providentially taken place upon the 7th. instt.,

45. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade and Alexander Hamilton.

I can scarcely think, that Sr. Henry Clinton will pursue his Route now the object of it is disappointed, I mean a junction with Burgoyne. But I hope, if he should attempt to penetrate further, you will be able, with the Militia from Connecticut and New York and the reinforcement sent down by Genl. Gates,⁴⁹ to stop his progress. Genl. McDougall has just suggested a matter to me, which he thinks of importance. He imagines that the Enemy, supposing they are obliged to fall down the North River again, will destroy all the Boats they find or carry them down with them, in either case we shall have no means of crossing. He therefore advises that the Boat Builders in the Peekskill Department, be immediately set to work to make a number of Boats, which may be built some distance back from the Water and brought down upon Carriages. But if the Enemy go down again they may be built convenient to the Water. If our Boats are destroyed, the sooner this Work is set about the better. Since the Battle of Germantown, both Armies have remained quiet. The Enemy have been endeavouring to remove the obstructions in the Delaware, but they have not yet made much progress. I am &ca.⁵⁰

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Qurs., Philadelphia County, October 15, 1777.

Dr. Sir: I was this day honored with yours of the 9th.

Library of Congress

49. "Some heavy artillery and a reenforcement of Continental troops, I am informed by General Gates, are on their way to join me."— *Putnam to Washington*, Oct. 25, 1777. This letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

50. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

containing a full account of the Storm of Forts Montgomery and Clinton. Genl. Putnam had given me information of the loss two days before, but not in so full and ample a manner. It is to be regretted that so brave a resistance did not meet with a suitable reward. You have however, the satisfaction of knowing that every thing was done that could possibly be, by a handful against a far superior force. This I am convinced was the case. This affair might have been attended with fatal consequences, had not there been a most providential intervention in favour of Genl. Gates's Arms on the 7th instant, but I am fully of opinion that St. Henry Clinton will not advance much further up the River upon hearing of Burgoyne's defeat and retreat. Nothing but absolute necessity could have induced me to have withdrawn any further part of the Troops allotted for the defence of the posts up the North River; but such was the reduced state of our Continental Regiments, after the Battle of Brandywine, and such the slowness and difficulty of procuring reinforcements of Militia from the southward, that without the Troops from Peekskill we should scarcely have been able to have kept the Field against General Howe. I had the greatest hopes, that General Putnam would have drawn in as many Connecticut Militia, as would have replaced the Continental Troops, and I make no doubt but he did all in his power to obtain them in time. I am sorry that you were under the necessity of destroying the Frigates, the only consolation

is, that if we had not done it ourselves, the Enemy would either have done it for us, or have carried them down for their own use. Since the Battle of Germantown upon the 4th. instant, the two Armies have remained in a manner quiet. The Enemy have made several attempts to remove the obstructions in the Delaware, but hitherto without effect. They are

Library of Congress

now making preparations to raise Batteries in the Rear of Fort Mifflin which commands the uppermost Chevaux de Frize. If we can maintain that post and one opposite upon the Jersey Shore, I am in hopes our Ships, Gallies and floating Batteries will be able to keep their stations and repel any force that can be brought by Water directly in front. I most earnestly expect further news from the northward, which I hope will bring us accounts of the total ruin of Burgoynes Army.

It is not unlikely, that one of Sr. Henry Clintons objects will be to destroy the Boats and small craft in the North River. Should this be the case and he succeed, I think it will be advisable for you to set a number of Workmen to building Flat Bottom Boats at some secure places within three or four Miles of the Water, from which they may be easily hawled. They are so exceedingly useful and so frequently wanted, that I think the business cannot, in such case, be too soon begun or carried on with too much expedition. I have written to Genl. Putnam upon the same subject. I am etc.

P.S. By sundry concurring accounts of persons out of Philadelphia and from Deserters, the Enemy's loss in the action of the 4th was very considerable. The lowest say it was 1500 killed and wounded, others 2000 and some as high as 2500. Perhaps the two last are exaggerated, but there are many reasons to believe that the first cannot much exceed the mark. For they were compleatly surprized and drove in great disorder for a long time and for a considerable distance at every point of attack. Had it not been for the extreme fogginess of the day which prevented our several Columns discovering each other's movements and from improving the advantages which they separately gained, in all probability the day would have been a most fortunate one. But owing to that circumstance they got confused and retreated at a moment when there was every appearance of victory in our favor. The Enemy lost some valuable officers, among the slain Genl. Agnew and it is said another Genl. officer was dangerously wounded. We were not without on our part Brigadr Nash was wounded by a Cannon Ball and is since dead. We had also several

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other officers of inferior rank wounded and some killed. This crude, undigested account I dont mean for publication. I hope all will yet end well.⁵¹

51. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and Robert Hanson Harrison. The P.S. is from the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

To JAMES MEASE⁵²

Head Quarters, October 15, 1777.

Sir: In order to enable you to carry on the business of your Department with facility and dispatch, You

52. Clothier General of the Continental Army.

are hereby authorized to purchase hire or press, as circumstances may require from time to time, such number of Horses and Waggon, as you shall stand in need of to answer the necessary purposes thereof. And in consideration of the Wants of the Army in many essential Articles of Clothing, and the backwardness which has in some instances appeared, in persons who have them for sale, to part with them to the public on reasonable terms proceeding from motives of disaffection and avarice. You are also empowered to sieze such articles as you know to be absolutely necessary to us, wherever you find them in private hands; paying a generous price for the same. At the same time that you will use this power in a manner answerable to our necessities; you will be careful to exercise it with all the discretion, which a power so delicate and important demands, remembering that an improper use of it may not only render it odious, but may defeat the advantages it is intended to produce.⁵³

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Head Qurs., 7 o'clock P.M., October 16, 1777.

Library of Congress

Sir: I have this moment receiv'd your favor of Yesterday and am very sorry to find that the Number of

53. The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

Militia you mention your being able to collect, is so far inferior to what you expected.

It is my earnest request that you immediately collect all then you possibly can and send them on as fast as any considerable number can be got together, under good Officers, to Join this Army. As you will remain to March with the last detachment, I wish you to use all your Influence and Interest with your Legislative Body, that they may give you what Assistance they can in the completion of this necessary Object. You can urge with great Justice, that as long as Genl. Howes Army has an existence, the Counties adjacent will be eternally subject to Depredations, nor can any thing prevent it, but such a Union and Cooperation of the People as will effectually reduce him, to attain which happy end, a better opportunity than the present never presented itself.

Mr. Tilghman Informs me, that he has given you some account of our situation, and of the Victory our Northern Army has most opportunely gain'd over Genl. Burgoyne, which I hope may be improved into a total defeat. Our Army has this day come to the same Ground, from whence we march'd to Attack the Enemy on the Night of the 3d. Instant.

Another reason occurs, why it is the true Interest of your Legislature to give us every Aid upon the present occasion, which is, that if the Enemy can once bring up

their shipping and get the City fortified and secured for winter Quarters, it will be so much in their power to make constant incursions into your State that you will be either oblig'd to submit to repeated heavy Losses by being between two fires, or keep your Militia on foot thro' the Severity of the Winter. I am etc.⁶⁶

To COLONEL ISRAEL ANGELL

Library of Congress

Head Quarters, October 16, 1777.

Sir: With the Regiment you command and what Baggage you think is absolutely necessary, you are immediately to proceed to Bristol, cross the Delaware at that place and continue your Route to Red Bank; this march should be performed with the utmost secrecy and under pretence of Covering the stores at Bristol, until you arrive at that place, as the Enemy might endeavour to intercept you should your Route be known. Upon your arrival at Red Bank, you are to consult with Commodore Hazelwood and Colonels Green and Smith and act in such manner as you think will be most conducive to the security of the Posts in general without considering yourselves as attached to any particular one. I think it more than probable, that the greatest part of your men will be

66. In the writing of John Fitzgerald. From the original in the Rutgers University Library.

wanted in fort Mifflin, and as you have many Seamen, you will give the Commodore every assistance which may be thought prudent and necessary. I have no doubt but you will use your utmost Exertions, both in the Expedition of your March, and after your arrival, for the Tenure and security of the Posts you go to defend. As an opposition made in that Quarter, becoming brave and determined Officers, will greatly facilitate the Operations of this Army, and distress that of the Enemy to such a degree as must very soon place them in a most hazardous and disagreeable situation. I am &ca.61

To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

Head Qurs., October 18, 1777.

Sir: Lieutt. Colo. Green marched this morning to reinforce the Garrison at Fort Mifflin, with a detachment of two hundred Men, and Colo. Arendt will immediately set out to take the command of that Fort. When the Garrison was first sent to that post, this Gentleman was appointed to take the command of it, but an indisposition with which he was seized

Library of Congress

prevented his entering upon it before. He is now recovered, and it devolves upon him of course. He is a

61. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

Gentleman of abilities and experience in War, and I have no doubt will do justice to his trust. Colo. Angell will remain with you at Red Bank, and you will Cooperate with Colo. Arendt, in every respect. I am persuaded the greatest harmony will exist between you and him, and between the Garrisons and the Fleet, which you well know is essential to your success.

We have just received the most important and interesting intelligence from the Northward, which is contained in the following letter.

Albany, October 15, 1777.

Last night at 8 o'Clock the Capitulation, whereby Genl. Burgoyne and whole Army surrendered themselves Prisoners of War, was signed, and this morning they are to march out towards the River above fish Creek with the honours of war (and there ground their Arms) they are from thence to be marched to Massachusetts Bay. We congratulate you on this happy event, and remain. Yours &ca.

Geo Clinton .

This happy event should stimulate us to redoubled efforts in this Quarter, and particularly towards preserving the obstructions in the River from being removed. If this can be effectually done, Genl. Howe must lose all the advantages of his past success. I am etc.

P.S. Of all things, let no attention be wanting that you

secure a competent supply of Ammunition. I have just received information, that the Enemy are preparing a number of floating Batteries; this is a circumstance that ought

Library of Congress

seriously to be attended to. Inform the Commodore of it. I need not repeat my desire you will afford all the assistance from your Garrison, to the Fleet and Fort Island that they may require.

It will not be prudent to publish the approach of the reinforcement I mention, as it may perhaps get to the Enemy's ears and induce them to take measures for intercepting it.⁷⁵

To BARON D'ARENDT

Head Quarters, October 18, 1777.

Sir: Being recovered from the indisposition under which you lately laboured, you are to proceed immediately to Fort Mifflin on Mud Island and to take the command of the Troops there and those which may be sent.

I shall not prescribe any particular line for your conduct, because I repose the utmost confidence in your bravery, knowledge and judgment; and because the mode of defence must depend on a variety of circumstances, which will be best known to those, who are on the spot.

75. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade and Alexander Hamilton.

I will add, that the maintenance of this post is of the last importance to the States of America, and that preventing the Enemy from obtaining possession of it, under the smiles of Heaven, will be the means of our defeating the Army to which we are opposed, or of obliging them disgracefully to abandon the City of Philadelphia, which is now in their hands.

I have detached to day a further Reinforcement to the Garrison,⁷⁶ and have instructed Colo. Greene who commands at Red Bank to Cooperate with you, and to render you every assistance in his power. You will maintain with him, and with Commodore Hazelwood,

Library of Congress

who commands our Fleet, a good understanding and the strictest harmony. These will be essential, and mutually aiding each other, I shall look forward for the most happy events.

You will be particularly attentive to the State of your ammunition and provision, advising me of the same from time to time, and of such supplies as you may judge necessary to be sent you. You will also report to me, the situation of the garrison, as often as it shall be requisite, and will not fail to transmit me frequent and the most early intelligence of every important occurrence.

I shall be done, after recommending your utmost dispatch to arrive at the garrison, and my warmest wishes that the Command may prove honourable to yourself and beneficial to America. I am 'ca.77

76. See following letter to Lieut. Col. John Green.

77. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN GREEN⁷⁸

Head Quarters, Worcester, October 18, 1777.

Sir: You are immediately to proceed with the Troops under your command, by the shortest Route to Bristol, where you will cross the Delaware and continue your March by way of Haddon field to Red Bank, from whence you are to go over to Fort Mifflin, and do every thing in your power for the support and defence of that garrison.

You will take no baggage but what is absolutely necessary, and your March should be executed with the greatest secrecy and dispatch. I have nothing further to add, than that I expect every thing in the defence of this important pass, from the unanimous council and joint exertions of the Commodore and officers at the different Posts.⁷⁹

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Library of Congress

Head Quarters, October 18, 1777.

Sir: In order to put your Garrison in a more effectual state of defence, I have sent you a reinforcement of

78. Of the First Virginia Regiment. He was promoted to colonel of the Tenth Virginia Regiment in January, 1778; retired in January, 1783.

79. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

200 men under Lt Colo. Green, who marched this morning to join you. Colo. Arendt having now recovered from his indisposition, will this day proceed to Fort Mifflin to take the command there, agreeable to my first intention. Your conduct, since you have been vested with it, has been such as to merit my intire approbation, and I am assured it will continue to be such as will finally preserve to you an equal claim to it. Colo. Arendt's knowledge and experience in War, fully intitle him to the confidence of every Officer and man under his command.

I am happy to communicate to you the important intelligence contained in the following Letter....80 I am etc.

P.S. The Enemy I am informed are preparing some floating batteries. This should be seriously attended to. You'll mention it to the Commodore. Do not mention any thing of the reinforcement, lest it may reach the Enemy's ears, and they might endeavour

80. The intelligence was that contained in Clinton's letter of October 15. (See Washington's letter to Col. Christopher Greene, Oct. 18, 1777, *ante*.)

to intercept it.

A very intelligent Gentleman, just from Philadelphia, informs me that the Enemy find as much difficulty in raising Batteries from the Wetness of the Meadows as from any thing

Library of Congress

else and rather more. They have stopped the Breaches as well as they can; but he thinks, if a party of Men were to go privately every night or two and peirce the Banks of province Island that it would be next to impossible for them to carry on the work. Endeavour by all means to have this done, but never let the thing be spoke of before it is undertaken or it may some how or other come to the Enemy's Ears and they may take steps to prevent you.⁸¹

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp, 20 Miles from Philada., October 19, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 16th. I received Yesterday morning, and was much obliged by the interesting contents.⁸⁶ The defeat of Genl. Burgoyne is a most important event, and such as must afford the highest satisfaction to every well affected American breast. Should providence be pleased to crown our Arms in the course of the Campaign, with one more fortunate stroke, I think we shall have no great cause for anxiety respecting the future designs of Britain. I

81. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton and Tench Tilghman.

86. After the British captured Fort Montgomery, Putnam retreated from Peekskill to Fishkill. He wrote to Washington from there (October 16): "last Monday Genl. Parsons with about two thousand Troops marched down and took possession of Peeks Kill and the passes in the highlands he has taken a number of Cattle horses and Sheep which were Collected by the Enemy. The Enemy had burnt the buildings and barracks at the Village, and Several dwelling houses and other buildings at Peeks Kill. they have demolished Forts montgomery and Constitution, and are repairing Fort Clinton. yesterday about forty Sail passed up the river crowded with Troops, and are now at anchor above Poughkipsie the wind not favouring. we were on our march after them when I met the agreeable intelligence of the surrender of Genl Burgoine and Ins army as prisoners of war, a Copy of which is enclosed; and thereupon I do most Sincerely Congratulate your Excellency. I

Library of Congress

have halted my Troops, and am now Considering what ought to be my next movement; have sent to Genl Clinton for his Opinion on the Subject and ordered Genl Parsons to Spare no pains to find the Situation and Strength of the garrison at Kingsbridge, in order to direct my future Operations most advantageously. I have about Six thousand Troops, who are Chiefly militia I understand that Genl Campbell was killed at Fort mountgomery, and Several Field Officers and others of inferior rank. The Enemys loss by the last accounts I have been able to get is very Considerable not less than a thousand killed and wounded The two Continental Frigates and the row Galley which lay above Fort mountgomery were burnt to prevent them falling into the hands of the Enemy, for which I am very Sorrey as one I beleve might have been saved." This letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

trust all will be well in his good time. The obvious intention of Sr. Henry Clinton, was to relieve Genl. Burgoyne and being disappointed in that by his surrender, I presume he will make an expeditious return. I am happy to find you at the Head of so respectable a force and flatter myself, if he should Land with a view to Action, tho I do not expect it, you will give us a happy account of him. I believe, from the bravery of the Garrison of Fort Montgomery, he purchased victory at no inconsiderable expence. Genl. Campbell⁸⁷ was certainly killed. This they mention in their own printed account, but call him Colo. of the 52d Regt. He was a Genl. on the American Establishment, so declared in one of the Orderly Books which fell into our hands.

I have but little to add respecting the Situation of affairs here. They remain much as they were when I wrote you last. To remove the Obstructions in the River, seems to be a Capital object with the Enemy. Their attempts hitherto have not succeeded and I hope will not.

I am extremely sorry for the death of Mrs. Putnam and Sympathise with you upon the occasion. Remembring that all must die, and that she had lived to an honourable age,

Library of Congress

I hope you will bear the misfortune with that fortitude and complacency of mind, that become a Man and a Christian. I am etc.⁸⁸

87. Lieut. Col. Mungo Campbell, of the Fifty-second Foot. He was a brigadier general in America.

88. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, October 19, 1777.

Sir: The fogginess of the mornings is so very great, that I think it probable, that the Enemy will attempt a surprise upon Fort Mifflin at such a time, or at night if they mean it at all. To prevent this, I would recommend it to you to keep Boats rowing guard as near the shore of province Island, as they possibly can with safety. I am so fully sensible of the importance of your Station that I have sent you rather more men than were demanded for its defence, and as many of the two Rhode Island Regiments are seamen they will afford you very considerable assistance. The Enemy last night evacuated Germantown and fell down to Philadelphia. Our Army will advance towards them in the morning, and as we shall be near them, I hope we shall prevent them from detaching any considerable force to reduce Fort Mifflin. I recommend it to Colo. Smith, to endeavour by all means to keep the Breaches in the Banks of province Island open, as I am certain it will incommode them vastly in carrying on their Works.⁸⁴ I am etc.⁸⁵

84. On October 19 Tilghman wrote to Chief Armorer Thomas Butler that the Commander in Chief granted permission for Butler to remove from Easton to Carlisle, and as soon as any number of arms were repaired to notify the General at once.

85. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Monday night, nine O'Clock, October 20, 1777.

Sir: As I understand that the Party of the Enemy, that crossed Schuylkill last night, are intended as a covering party to a Convoy of provisions that is expected up from Chester, I am determined to intercept them if possible upon their return. For this purpose, Genl. Greene will march with a

party this Evening, and I desire that you will hold yourself in readiness to join him with the Troops under your Command. If you should be above Minor Meeting House, you will immediately fall down to that place and there wait for General Green; but if you should be between Minor and Derby, you may wait upon your Ground, only sending an Officer to meet Genl. Greene at Minor Meeting and to conduct him to you. You will keep scouts constantly out upon the Road, to know whether the convoy has passed Derby upon its return, and you are to order your parties to stop every person going towards Chester, to prevent intelligence. You will also keep parties upon the Roads leading from the middle and from Grays Ferries, lest any more Troops should come over. I am &ca.⁹⁵

To BARON D'ARENDT

Head Quarters, 10 O'Clock at Night, October 20, 1777.

Sir: I am just now favoured with yours of this date, and am sorry that you laboured under any mistake on account of there being two Officers of the name of Green. Colo. Christopher Greene of Rhode Island is to command at Red Bank,

⁹⁵. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

and Lt. Colo. John Greene of Virginia is to go into Fort Mifflin with the detachment under his command. I have no Blank Commissions with me and am therefore obliged to send

Library of Congress

you a certificate of your Rank and date of your Appointment. I beg you will make the greatest haste to throw yourself into Fort Mifflin; in the defence of which I wish you the greatest success. I am etc.¹

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Head Qurs., near White Marsh, October 21, 1777.

Sir: The enemy, yesterday morning threw a body of troops across the Delaware, with intention no doubt either to storm or invest Red bank. As the works there are strong, it is improbable they will hazard the loss of men, that would be likely to attend an assault, but will, I imagine endeavour, by a blockade, to oblige the garrison to surrender. On this supposition, I am to request in the most earnest manner, that you will use your utmost exertions, immediately to collect as large a body of militia, as you possibly can, and hasten them to the relief of that post. It is to be apprehended, its supply of stores and provisions, may not be as ample as could be wished. This makes it necessary you should lose not a moments time

1. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. It was read in Congress on October 24.

to give it all the succour you can. I have written to General Newcomb on the same subject.

You need not be told, that should that post fall into the enemy's hands, we not only suffer the immediate loss of the garrison, its cannon, and stores; but all our endeavours, after that should happen, to defend the obstructions in the river, would be fruitless. To you no argument need be used, either to explain the importance of the object, or to stimulate your zeal for its preservation.

What I have here said is on the supposition, that the danger to the Salt Works, which induced you to go down that way, is not so great as to require the whole force, you may be able to get together to guard against it. I do not mean to neglect the precautions necessary

Library of Congress

for their security, they are of too much importance; but as the defence of Red bank is an object of the greatest moment, I would wish you to do as much as you possibly can towards it, consistent with a proper degree of attention to the Salt Works. If circumstances are not such as to make your presence there essentially necessary, I would wish you to command the body of militia you may be able to spare for Red bank. I am etc.⁸

8. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Head Quarters, October 21, 1777.

Dear Sir: Owing to the Rain last night and the prospect, that it might be of long continuance, the Detachment which I wrote you about was prevented marching. One is now in motion for the same purpose. I wish you to obtain the best information you possibly can, respecting the Convoy that went to Chester, and to find out whether it has returned. That the object we have in view, may be facilitated, and the Detachment may not be liable to be intercepted, You will have all the Roads leading over Schuylkill properly waylaid and secured, to prevent the Enemy from receiving intelligence of their movement. The Road also to Province Island should be attended to, lest they should get intelligence thro' that channel by the Tories and disaffected. I need not suggest to you the propriety of secrecy on this occasion. You will know that much depends upon it. If from your scouts or any other authentic advices, you find that the Convoy has returned to Philadelphia, you will immediately send to Genl. McDougall who commands the Detachment, that he not continue his march. He will pass Schuylkill at Reese App Edward's Ford, or be on the Route leading to it. Should the Convoy not have returned, some prudent, intelligent Officers from your Brigade, should be dispatched to meet the Genl.

at the Ford, that he may know how and where to form a junction with you. It will be also necessary to procure, two or three well affected Country Gentlemen or Farmers,

Library of Congress

acquainted with the Country to join him there, for the purpose of conducting him by the necessary Routs. I am etc.²

P.S. I received no Answer by the return of the Express by whom I wrote last Night; do acknowledge the Receipt of this or I shall be doubtful about its delivery.³

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, October 21, 1777.

Sir: Your favour of the 18th. I received last night, and was extremely sorry to find from the Commodore's Letter, which made a part of your's, that you and he were not in the strictest harmony. This circumstance, I confess, gives me great uneasiness, as I well know that a good agreement between the Navy and Garrison is of the last importance, and that a want of Cooperation and every possible, mutual aid, may involve the most unhappy consequences. Persuaded of this, and recollecting the train of misfortunes that has been brought on in many instances by a difference of the like nature, I requested Baron D'Arendt, in my instructions to him, that to maintain a good understanding between him and the Commodore should be a great object of his

2. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

3. The P.S. was added to the letter sent and does not appear in the draft. This letter was sold at auction in 1907.

care and attention. This I hope he will do, and I have written to the Commodore to day, recommending the same to him in the strongest Terms. Hitherto a happy agreement has done much, It has disappointed the Enemy from effecting, notwithstanding their repeated efforts, what they seemed to consider without difficulty; and should the same spirit and disposition continue, I flatter myself, they will produce the same ends. I have not suggested to the Commodore, the most distant idea of my having heard of any

Library of Congress

misunderstanding between you. The matter is so delicate, that I would not have him believe, that I ever suspected it. I am etc.⁴

To COMMODEORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, October 21, 1777.

Sir: By this time, I imagine Colonel Arendt will have arrived at Fort Mifflin, the command of which post was originally designed for him, he was prevented, through indisposition, from entering immediately upon it, but being now recovered, it of course devolves upon him.

This Gentleman's knowledge of and experience in war, which has been the study and business of his life, induce

4. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

me to expect, with intire confidence, that he will acquit himself in his command, in a manner that will do him honor. I have also the fullest reliance, that your most zealous exertions will be continued and that the happiest consequences will result from your united efforts.⁵ I cannot but repeat my ardent desire, that harmony and a good understanding between the fleet and the garrisons, may be mutually cultivated. On this every thing depends; nothing but disappointment and disgrace can attend the want of it. The best designs and most important pursuits have been and ever will be defeated, by foolish differences, when they exist between those engaged in them.⁶

I have, in terms equally strong, endeavoured to impress upon Colo. Greene and Colo. Arendt the necessity of cultivating that harmony, I now recommend; and I earnestly hope their conduct on every occasion, may manifest a hearty disposition to promote so desireable an end. I am etc.⁷

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

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Head Quarters, 15 Miles from Philadelphia, October 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 9th. and am glad

5. The draft continues here: "equally conspicuous for prudence, vigor and perseverance"; but this was afterwards crossed out.

6. The draft here has, lined out, the following: "The most upright intentions are not sufficient to influence men to those measures which their common interest demands, if once the least animosity gets footing between them. It seldom fails to pervert the judgment of the disagreeing parties and, produce a spirit of opposition, often without their being sensible of it, destructive of the end they both have in view."

7. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

to hear of the different arrivals of arms, tents and cloathing, the latter of which is exceedingly wanted in this army, and I hope the agents will immediately forward the proportion intended for them. Major Nicholas, who is just returned from the Eastward, informs me, that a large parcel of lead has lately arrived at Boston upon private account. As that article is likely to become scarce, I desire it may be immediately purchased up and sent on to the Elaboratories. I have wrote to the board of war and desired them also to direct the Continental agent to secure the lead.

I congratulate you upon the glorious success of our arms to the Northward. The complete captivity of Burgoyne and his army exceeds our most sanguine expectations. I have not yet heard of Sir. Harry Clinton's falling down the North River again, but I imagine he will not remain there after hearing of Burgoyne's destruction. The enemy have been busily employed, ever since they got possession of Philadelphia, in endeavouring to remove the obstructions in the Delaware, but hitherto without effect. The day before Yesterday they evacuated Germantown and withdrew within their lines just upon the environs of the city. I have just sent to Congress for commissions for Lee's and Jackson's regiments. If they

Library of Congress

come to this army they will be ready for them here; if they are by any means detained upon the North River, I will send them up to them. I am etc.¹⁵

15. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. From the original in the Boston Public Library.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL SILAS NEWCOMB

Head Qurs., October 22, 1777.

Sir: The Enemy seem determined to possess themselves, if possible, of the Forts on the River. Their operations against Fort Mifflin have been carried on for several days with unremitted attention, and from various accounts they mean to storm Red Bank or to invest it. For this purpose, it is confidently said, that a pretty considerable Detachment crossed the River Yesterday morning. It is of infinite importance to us, to prevent them from effecting these objects. I therefore request you to give every aid in your power to that end. If they have or attempt to invest the Fort, I hope you will be able to fall on their Rear with such a respectable number of Militia, as to make them decline the project, and if that should not be the case, it may be the means of further Detachments being sent from the City to their support, which will afford us perhaps a favourable opportunity of striking a successful blow. I will not enlarge upon the Subject. You are sufficiently impressed with the importance of it, and I trust you will exert yourself to render every service you can. The earliest aid should be given, delay may bring on a loss extremely interesting in its nature and irreparable. I am &ca.

P.S. I cannot forbear observing to you, and the Inhabitants of Jersey, the dreadful consequences that must follow should the Enemy keep possession of Philadelphia, and that if they get Red Bank into their hands, a considerable force must consequently be kept there by them, to the distress and terror of those within their reach, this I hope will stimulate the Militia to a speedy and vigorous opposition.

Library of Congress

I must request that you do every thing in your power to throw in supplies of provision to Fort Mifflin and Red Bank, this I conceive to be a matter of the utmost importance, as the Enemy may intend to starve them out.¹⁶

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, October 22, 1777.

Sir: Your Letter of 18th. Instt. I received last night wherein I find you express a desire to be recalled from Fort Mifflin to join your Corps.

I found it absolutely necessary to reinforce your Garrison and that it was impracticable to do it consistently, without super-sedeing you, this determined me to send the Baron D'Arendt, as the person originally mentioned to you to command there, but would have omitted it (after you remained some time in Command), had not the additional Detachment been

16. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the P.S. is in that of Richard Kidder Meade.

judged expedient for the defence of so important a Post. This I mention, that you may be satisfied of the real motives in this transaction, that a desire to supersede you had no influence in it; but on the contrary, that your conduct and exertions, since the commencement of your command there, have been such as merit my approbation and thanks. I now leave it to your own option whether to rejoin your Corps or continue where you are, and have no doubt but you will determine upon that which in your opinion is most Serviceable and consistent with the character of an Officer.

There should be no hesitation in burning the Barrack Masters House, if it is found in the least to impede an opposition or cover the Enemy in advance. I am &ca.¹⁴

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Camp near White Marsh, October 23, 1777.

Dear Sir: The Enemy are exerting every nerve to reduce the Forts on the Delaware, viewing them as insurmountable obstacles to their holding Philadelphia, if they remain in our hands. Against that on Mud Island, they have been carrying on their operations with great activity and industry

14. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

for many days, but as yet without success. They also sent a considerable Detachment across the Delaware yesterday morning, and in the course of the day, to operate against that at Red Bank. It is probable, from the state of the Latter, they will not attempt it by storm, but will try to gain it by an investiture. The importance of it to us, is obvious, but unhappily our circumstances will not admit such Detachments to be sent from hence as will oblige the Enemy to raise the seige. This constrains me to look to your State for all the assistance you can possibly afford. I have written to Genls. Forman and Newcomb on the subject, but the aids they can give will probably not be sufficient. If circumstances will permit, considering the situation of affairs at the Northward and here, I wish you to throw all the weight you can into the same scale, and that as early as possible. I have sent Colo. Fitzgerald, who will lay before you a full state of matters with us, and my sentiments upon them, which will enable you to form a judgment of that line of conduct which you can pursue with the most propriety. To him I refer you. I am etc.

P.S. You will at once perceive the fatal consequences to the United States in General and to Jersey in particular, should the Enemy be able to establish themselves in Philadelphia and at Red Bank. Unfortunately, our views in most instances

have been too much divided and the greater objects have been neglected, in much less interesting pursuits. Could we unite and destroy Genl. Howe's Army, every part would be

Library of Congress

secure, but while we extend our force to protect every place, none will or can, therefore to defeat him demands the exertions of all. I wish the people were convinced of these important truths, and would view matters as they ought.¹⁸

18. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, October 24, 1777.

Dear Sir: It ever has been, and I hope ever will be, a ruling principle with me, to endeavour to do impartial justice to every officer over whom I have the honor to preside. I shall therefore, in answer to the queries, contained in your letter of this date,³³ readily declare.

That although I ascribed the misfortune which happened to us on the 11th. of Sept., principally to the information of Major Spear,³⁴ transmitted to me by you; yet I never blamed you for conveying that intelligence. On the contrary, considering from whom, and in what manner it came to you, I should have thought you culpable in concealing it. The Majors rank, reputation and knowledge of the country, gave him a full claim to credit and attention.

His intelligence was no doubt a most unfortunate circumstance, as it served to derange the disposition that had been determined on, in consequence of prior information of the enemy's attempt to turn and attack our right flank, which ultimately proving true, too little time was left us, after discovering its certainty, to form a new plan, and make adequate arrangements to prevent its success. Hence arose that hurry and consequently confusion which

33. Sullivan's letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

34. Maj. Joseph(?) Spear, or Spears. He is said to have been of the Pennsylvania Militia.

Library of Congress

afterwards ensued. But it was not your fault, that the intelligence was eventually found to be erroneous!

With respect to your other quære, whether your being posted on the right was to guard that flank, and if you had neglected it? I can only observe, that the obvious, if not declared purpose of your being there, implied every necessary precaution for the security of that flank. But it is at the same time to be remarked, that all the fords above Chads, which we were taught to apprehend danger from, were guarded by detachments from your division; and that we were led to believe, by those whom we had reason to think well acquainted with the Country, that no ford above our picquets could be passed, without making a very circuitous march.

Upon the whole then, no part of your conduct, preceding the action, was, in my judgment, reprehensible. What happened on your march to the field of battle, your disposition there, and behaviour during the action, I can say nothing about, no part 'till the retreat commenced having come under my immediate observation. I can only add therefore, that the whole tenor of your conduct, so far as I have had opportunities of judging, has been spirited and active. I am etc.³⁵

35. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

Head Quarters, October 24, 1777.

Sir: I have just received a letter from Major Ward,³¹ written by your desire, giving an account of your success over the enemy, on the 22d. instant. I heartily congratulate you upon this happy event, and beg you will accept my most particular thanks, and present the same to your whole garrison both officers and men. Assure them, that their gallantry and good behaviour meet my warmest approbation.

Library of Congress

All the prisoners should be immediately removed to a distance from your post to some convenient and safe place. I am sorry you have thought of sending the officers to Burlington, as they would be in no kind of security at that place, but might be taken and carried off by the enemy with the greatest ease. Immediately on the receipt of this, you will be pleased to have all the prisoners both officers and men conveyed to Morris Town. The wounded can be accommodated in the hospitals there and in its neighbourhood. Count Donop in particular is a man of importance, and ought by all means to be taken care of.

With respect to the arms you have taken, as they are no doubt good, it will be well to exchange all the indifferent arms you may have for them, but after that is done,

31. Maj. Samuel Ward, jr., of the First Rhode Island Regiment. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in May, 1778; retired in January, 1781.

I would recommend to you to send all your superfluous arms away. They can be put in the waggons that are on the way to you with ammunition. I am etc.

P.S. Such wounded as are not fit to be removed, you will take their paroles to consider themselves as prisoners at all contingencies.³²

PROCLAMATION

Head Quarters, October 24, 1777.

Whereas sundry Soldiers belonging to the Armies of the said States have Deserted from the same; These are to make known, to all those who have so offended, and who shall return to their respective Corps, or surrender themselves to the Officers appointed to receive Recruits and Deserters in their several States, or to any Continental Commissioned Officer before the first day of January next, that they shall obtain a full and free pardon. And I do further declare, to all such obstinate offenders, as do not avail

Library of Congress

themselves of the indulgence hereby offered, that they may depend, when apprehended, on being prosecuted with the utmost rigour and suffering the

32. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

punishment justly due to crimes of such enormity.

Lest the hope of escaping punishment by remaining undiscovered, should tempt any, to reject the Terms now held out to them, they may be assured, that the most effectual measures will be pursued in every State for apprehending and bringing them to a speedy trial.³⁶

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Qurs., 15 Miles from Philada., October 26,⁵⁶ 1777.

Dear Sir: I have your favour of the 20th. inclosing a Copy of Genl. Burgoyne's Capitulation⁵⁷ which was the first authentic intelligence I received of the affair, indeed I began to grow uneasy and almost to suspect that the first accounts you transmitted me were premature. As I have not received a single line from Gen. Gates, I do not know what steps he is taking with the Army under his Command, and therefore cannot advise what is most proper to be done in your quarter. But I should think, if a junction of your force was formed, part to proceed down upon one side of the River and part upon the other, that Sr. Henry Clinton would be obliged to retreat immediately before you, or if he suffered you

36. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

56. The Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress, the letter printed by Ford in *Correspondence of Samuel Blatchley Webb* (New York: 1893), and the text in Sparks's *Writings of Washington* are dated October 25.

Library of Congress

57. A copy of the Saratoga convention, in the writing of Charles Thomson, is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress. It was forwarded to Washington in Thomson's letter to him of October 31.

to get between him and New York, you perhaps might, in its weak state, get into it. I mention this merely as matter of opinion, taking it for granted you will pursue the most proper and efficacious measure. Whatever may be determined upon, I beg may be constantly communicated to me, as the operations of this Army may depend much upon the situation of yours.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that on the 22d. instant about 1200 Hessians under the Command of Count Donop attempted to take our Fort at Red Bank by storm, they were repulsed with the loss of about 400 killed and wounded, among the latter Count Donop himself, who is prisoner. They retreated in the greatest confusion and recrossed the Delaware as speedily as possible. On the 23d. in the morning several of the Enemy's Ships of War got thro' the lower Chevaux de frize and came up to Fort Mifflin, but they received so warm a fire from our Ships, Gallies and Battery that they were obliged to sheer off. One of their 64 Gun Ships got on Ground, she took fire, either from our Shot or from accident and blew up. Our Gallies destroyed a Frigate also. Since this, they have remained tolerably quiet. Mr. Hughes, in a letter to Genl. McDougall, says that Nixon's and Glover's Brigades are upon their March down, when they arrive, you can spare the small detachments belonging to the New England Regiments nowhere. I beg they maybe sent down as soon as possible to join their respective Corps.⁵⁸ I am etc.

58. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Head Qurs., 15 Miles from Philada., October 25, 1777.

Library of Congress

Dear Sir: It gives me great pleasure to find by yours of the 20th. that you are likely to save your leg, and that you think you will be able to take the field in the Spring should there be occasion.³⁹ I congratulate you upon the glorious termination of the Campaign against Genl. Burgoyne, which I hope will in its consequences free us from all our oppressors. Ever since the Enemy got possession of Philadelphia, their whole attention has been paid to reducing the Forts upon Delaware and endeavouring to remove the Chevaux de frize. After near a month's work they removed two of the lower Chevaux de frize, thro' which opening Six of their Ships of War passed upon the morning of the 22d. and began a most furious Cannonade upon Fort Mifflin and our Ships and Gallies at the upper frize, but they were so warmly opposed that they were obliged to sheer off. In going down, a 64 Gun Ship ran on ground, She took fire and blew up. Our Gallies overtook and destroyed a Frigate. The remainder made the best of their way down. The day following Count Donop, with about 1200 Men, attempted to carry our Fort at Red Bank on the Jersey shore, by storm; he was repulsed, with the loss of about 400 killed and wounded, among the latter the Count himself who is prisoner. Since this they have remained tolerably quiet

³⁹. Lincoln had been wounded in the leg in a skirmish with the British the day after the Battle of Bemis Heights, N.Y. He did not rejoin the army until August, 1778.

by land and water. Genl. Howe has withdrawn himself within his lines thrown round Philadelphia. I observe by the Terms of Genl. Burgoyne's Capitulation, that an Exchange of prisoners may probably take place; if so, the number of Officers taken in his army will liberate all ours; in that case, Mr. Douglass⁴⁰ your Aid de Camp will soon be redeemed. But if this exchange should not take place, you may depend that Mr. Douglass shall be called for as soon as it comes to his turn. For I have made it an invariable rule to give a preference to those who have been longest in Captivity. I most sincerely wish you a speedy and effectual cure, as I am etc.⁴¹

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Library of Congress

October 25, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favour of the 20th. I received Yesterday Afternoon and feel much for the Havoc and devastation committed by the Enemy employed on the North River. Their maxim seems to be, to destroy where they cannot conquer and they hesitate not, to pursue a conduct that would do dishonour to the Arms of Barbarians.⁴² I know your feelings upon the

40. Ephraim Douglas. He had been taken prisoner at Bound Brook, N.J., in April, 1777; exchanged in November, 1780; lieutenant in the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1781; transferred to the Second Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1781; served to June, 1783.

41. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

42. Burning of Kingston, N.Y.

occasion, and regret, that you were not in a situation to check their progress. This procedure, I hope, will call forth the exertions of all, and that in the course of events, we shall have more solid grounds for triumph. A Copy of the Articles respecting Genl. Burgoynes surrender reached me this morning for the first time.

When Genl. Putnam informed me of the capture of Fort Montgomery, he wrote the Congress upon the Subject. By the first opportunity I shall transmit them a Copy of your Letter now before me. I am happy you detained Colo. Malcom, as you found him so serviceable, and consent to his remaining as long as you shall think him of essential use. As to his Regiment, it is now here. Had I been apprized of the circumstance you mention, before it marched, I would not have ordered it to join this Army.

In the afternoon of the 22d., a Detachment of Hessian Troops, amounting to about Twelve Hundred, under the command of Count Donop, attempted to storm our Fort at Red Bank,

Library of Congress

and were repulsed with the loss of between four and five Hundred Men, in killed, wounded and prisoners. Among the prisoners is Count Donop himself, who is badly wounded. We only lost 32 in killed and wounded, chiefly the latter. The next morning several of the Enemy's Ships of War warped thro the lower tier of Chevaux de frize, and attacked Fort Mifflin on Mud Island and our Gallies and

Armed Vessels which were posted near it. The Cannonade was severe and of long continuance but without other damage to us than the loss of three or four men killed and wounded. The Enemy on their part, lost two Ships. One said to be the Augusta of 64 Guns, the other a Frigate of 32. The first, in returning, got aground, and fearing that she would fall into our hands, they burnt her themselves. The latter accidentally took fire and was consumed. According to report, the Roebuck also suffered considerably. They seemed much determined to carry these posts. I hope these disappointments, they have met with will prevent their further attempts. However, they are not done, there having been a Cannonade this morning. I am etc.⁴³

***To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN**

Skippack Road, 15th. Mile Stone, October 25, 1777.

Dear Sir: My Letter of the 21st. Instr. (which I hope has got safe to your hands) would amply convey to you my Ideas of the Importance of Red Bank, and leaves me little to add on that head, saving, that the more it is considered, the more essential it appears, to use every possible means

43. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

for its preservation.

The late check which the Enemy met with, in attempting to storm the Fort at that place is a most fortunate event; but I am far from conceiving that it will deter them from endeavouring

Library of Congress

by slower, and more effectual means, to possess themselves of it; to make themselves perfect Masters of the River and the de-fences of the Chevaux de Frieze it is essential to them to occupy that spot. It is equally, essential to us to disappoint them, by every exertion in our power; I wish therefore, most ardently, to hear of your being in that Neighbourhood with a respectable body of Militia, as the preservation of the Forts will, in the judgment of most men, rid Phila. of their present guests and Jersey of the disagreeable Situation of being between two Fires for it is not to be expected that the Enemy will remain long quiet after having once established themselves in the City. Jersey must then afford them Supplies, be ravaged with Impunity or a force constantly kept on foot for protection of the Inhabitants: how burthensome this will be, let the people themselves judge.

Colo. Green who Commands at red bank seems to apprehend nothing from a storm, but every thing from an Investiture, as the work is contracted, and unprovided with the smallest defence against Shells, which would drive them out immediately. a seige therefore must be prevented, and this cannot be prevented without the assistance of your Militia.

I am too well acquainted with your activity and Zeal to add more on this head, and therefore conclude with strong assurances of being Dr. Sir Yr., etc.

CIRCULAR TO DRAGOON COMMANDERS⁴⁴

Head Quarters, October 25, 1777.

Sir: I am sorry to find, that the liberty I granted to the light dragoons of impressing horses near the enemy's lines has been most horribly abused and perverted into a mere plundering scheme. I intended nothing more than that the horses belonging to the disaffected, in the neighbourhood of the British Army, should be taken for the use of the dismounted dragoons, and expected, that they would be regularly reported to the Quarter Master General, that an account might be kept of the number and the persons from whom they were taken, in order to a future settlement. Instead of this, I am informed

Library of Congress

that under pretence of the authority derived from me, they go about the country, plundering whomsoever they are pleased to denominate Tories, and converting what they get to their own private profit and emolument. This is an abuse that cannot be tolerated, and as I find the license

44. Comte Pulaski; Cols. Theodorick Bland, of the First; Elisha Sheldon, of the Second; George Baylor, of the Third; and Stephen Moylan of the Fourth Continental Dragoons.

allowed them, has been made a sanction for such mischeivous practices, I am under the necessity of recalling it altogether. You will therefore immediately make it known to your whole corps, that they are not under any pretence whatever to meddle with the horses or other property of any inhabitant whatever, on pain of the severest punishment; for they may be assured, as far as it depends upon me, that military execution will attend all those who are caught in the like practice hereafter.

The more effectually to put it out of their power to elude this prohibition, all the horses in your corps, in the use of the non commissioned officers and privates, not already stamped with the Continental brand, are without loss of time to be brought to the Qr. Master General to receive that brand; and henceforth, if any of them shall be found with horses that are without it, they shall be tried for marauding and disobedience of orders.

I am fully confident, you will be equally disposed with me to reprobate and abolish the practice complained of, and will adopt the strictest measures to fulfill the intention of this letter, and prevent its continuance in future. I am etc.⁴⁵

45. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To MAJOR ROBERT BALLARD⁴⁶

Head Quarters, October 25, 1777.

Library of Congress

Sir: I received your favour of the 23d. Instr. and am obliged by the intelligence it contains. The conduct of your Garrison has equaled my most sanguine expectations, and merit my warmest acknowledgments and thanks. Be assured no exertions of mine shall be wanting to give you every support in my power; Ammunition is now on its way to the Forts, and a supply of that Article, shall not be wanting, when possible for me to procure it. I am &ca.47

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, October 25, 1777.

Sir: I was last night favoured with yours of the 23d. Give me leave to congratulate you upon your Victory, and return my thanks to the Officers and Men for their gallant behaviour; to those particularly who were more immediately engaged. I hope Colo. Greene's success by land added to yours upon the Water, will make the Enemy cautious of attempting

46. Of the First Virginia Regiment. Later he was colonel of this regiment.

47. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

either again. You may depend upon being supplied with Ammunition while there is a possibility of conveying to you. 1000 Cartridges for 18. and 640 for 24 pounders were upon the way down when you wrote, and I hope have arrived before this. I have also this morning ordered down two Waggon loads of Ammunition from hence. I will do every thing in my power, ill as I can afford the Men, to reinforce the fleet. In the mean time, you must make the best shift you can by borrowing of Colo. Greene upon an emergency. There are about 100 seamen employed in the New Frigates that lay up at Whitehill. I have been thinking that they might be scutled and sunk for the present, and all the Men, except a few to be left for ferry men, sent down to you. I have wrote to the Continental Navy Board at Bordentown for their opinion upon the expediency of this matter, and shall be obliged to you for yours. I have another Reason for scutling them, which is, that I fear the Enemy will

Library of Congress

possess themselves of them, and with the assistance of them and the Delaware Frigate very much annoy your Rear. I am etc.⁴⁸

To THE CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD⁴⁹

Head Quarters, October 25, 1777.

Gentlemen: The application of Commodore Hazelwood for

48. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

49. The Continental Navy Board, then at Bordentown, N.J., consisted of Francis Hopkinson and John Wharton.

seamen, and the necessity there is of his being supplied, if possible, induce me to submit it to the Consideration of your Board, Whether those in the Frigates near Burlington, cannot be more beneficially employed with him, than where they now are.

The importance of defending the Navigation below, or in other words of preventing the Enemy from becoming the Masters of it, is obvious to all. If they cannot effect this, we may hope, that they will be obliged, either to evacuate the City, or to expose themselves to great hazard, if not ruin, by sending out frequent Detachments for procuring and Convoying provisions and other necessary supplies. Under these ideas, I think there should be every possible, prudent exertion to provide the Commodore with a suitable number of hands for manning his Vessels.

The Ground, I presume, for retaining the Sailors on board the Frigates, is their Security. This I fear, from their unfinished, unweildy state could not be provided for, in case the Enemy should attempt to take them. I am certain of it. Will it not be more advisable therefore, to try other means for their safety? I mean to Scuttle them, If they can be raised again. I am not a judge of such matters, but if it can be done, I should think the measure highly expedient. The Commodore might then be reinforced and the Frigates would be

Library of Congress

secure against any present efforts, which the Enemy can make to possess or destroy them. These are not the only good consequences that may be pointed out. I will mention one more of great weight. If

the Frigates should be taken by the Enemy, of which there is great danger in my opinion, they will make them exceedingly formidable against our little navy. So much so, that in Conjunction with the Delaware and such other Vessels, as they may equip, there will be the strongest reason to apprehend their falling a Sacrifice. I have written to Commodore Hazelwood for his sentiments and those of the navy Officers upon the subject, and practicability weighing them, if they should be sunk, which I shall take the Liberty of laying before you by the earliest opportunity after they are obtained. I have the honor etc.⁵⁰

To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE

Head Quarters, October 26, 1777.

Sir: I have sent down Lt. Colo. Rolston with three hundred Pennsylvania militia to reinforce Forts Mercer and Mifflin. I therefore desire that you and Baron Arendt will settle the proportion that each is to have, upon the most equitable terms. If you should have been joined by such a number of Jersey militia as will render your post quite secure, you are to permit all the Pennsylvania militia to pass over to fort Mifflin. I am &ca.⁶⁵

50. The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

65. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL [ROBERT?] RALSTON⁶³

Head Quarters, October 26, 1777.

Sir: You will proceed with the Detachment under your command, with all expedition to Red Bank, where you will receive further orders from Colo. Greene commanding officer at

Library of Congress

that Post, to which you will punctually conform. The Route I would recommend to you is from this to Bristol, thence across the Delaware to Mount Holly, thence to Haddonfield and thence to Red Bank. You will use every necessary precaution on your march, to prevent any accident happening to your Detachment by surprise, and as it is possible the Enemy may gain intelligence of it, and make some attempt to intercept it. I am etc.⁶⁴

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Head Quarters, October 27, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am glad to find, by yours of the 26th. that you had arrived at Red Bank, and I hope, from your exertions in that quarter, that the Militia will be induced to come out. I take the Body of Men, that have been seen crossing Schuylkill,

63. In the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress Ralston is said to be of the Pennsylvania Militia, but his name is not found in the published lists in the *Pennsylvania Archives*. He was, possibly, Robert Ralston, who had been adjutant of The First Pennsylvania Brigade.

64. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

to be a covering party to the Waggon's going down for a Convoy Stores and provisions, [provided they did not cross to Billingsport] as they have a road leading over Province and Tinicum Islands to the Mouth of Derby Creek, at which place they debark their provisions &ca. The possession of Red Bank is a thing of so much importance to the Enemy, that I am confident they will leave nothing untried to make themselves masters of it. I have ordered a considerable reinforcement from hence, who are only waiting for the Weather to clear up. In the mean time, I beg you will assemble every Man you can, and after throwing as many into the fort as will be sufficient for the Works, post the others in some convenient place to fall upon the Enemy in the Rear should they set down to invest it. Be pleased to keep me constantly advised of any movements of the Enemy. I am etc.⁶⁶

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, October 27, 1777.

Sir: I am very apprehensive that the Enemy are preparing Armed Boats, floating Batteries and fire Rafts at Philadelphia with an intent to fall down upon your fleet when they are finished. The Delaware Frigate will be of the greatest advantage

66. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The phrase in brackets was added by Washington.

to them in covering, their smaller Vessels, should they attack you. In my opinion there is much greater danger from an attack of this kind, than one directly in your front, because there you have the Chevaux de frize as a defence. I therefore would suggest the expediency of making an attempt to destroy the Frigate and what other preparations they are making, by surprise. I will not pretend to point out the mode to you, who must be much better acquainted with things of this kind than I can possibly be; but if you think it can be done, no means should be left untried to effect it. I am &ca.

P.S. Could not the Frigate be fired, as she lays at Anchor, in a dark Night.⁶⁷

***To THE CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD**

15th Mile Stone on the Skippack Road, October 27, 1777.

Gentn: The more I reflect upon the evil that may arise from the Enemy's possessing themselves of our unfinished Frigates up the Delaware, the more convinced I am of the indispensable obligation we are under to prevent it, effectually. If no other method could be devised, I should be for absolutely burning

67. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Library of Congress

them; but scuttling and sinking [them] with, or without Ballast, as those who are best acquainted with the difficulties of raising them in either State, at this Season [may determine] will, in my judgment answer the end.

You [We all] know that the Enemy have made one vigorous (tho unsuccessful) effort to dispossess us of our Forts, and drive off our Vessels, which defend the Cheveaux de frize in the River; you [we] know also, that besides [burning] the Delaware Frigate, they are busily employed in preparing two other large Armd Vessels at the City. Now [If] in addition to these [they] should they by Surprise, or force, obtain the Frigates above Bordentown, and bring the whole in aid of their Ships in a general attack upon our little Fleet (thus surrounded) one [we] may, [but too easily] without the Spirit of divination foretell the consequences. [Their destruction will be certain and inevitable.]

At present, these Ships [Frigates] are of no use to us, whilst the hands are greatly wanted; considered therefore in this point of view, simply, the measure [proposed] in my judgement [opinion] is highly expedient; but [and] under the prevailing Sentiment that the Enemy cannot hold Phila., unless their Shipping is got up, it becomes [appears] absolutely necessary.

The fatal consequences which may result from suffering these Frigates to fall into the Enemys hands is, [are] too obvious to need [more] arguments to prove, [them,] and when it is considered of how little importance they are to us in their present Situation, common prudence requires that they should be so disposed of as to be hereafter useful; and out of the way of being destroyed by the Enemy if they can be no otherwise useful [or being rendered Serviceable] to them.

Upon the whole then, I take the liberty of delivering it to you as my clear opinion, that the Frigates ought to be immediately, and with the utmost secrecy, Sunk, either with, or without Ballast (so as to make it next to impossible to raise them without Mens diving,

Library of Congress

either to unlade, or fix their purchases) and [that] the[ir] Crews [should be] sent down to the Fleet below, where Sailors are exceedingly wanted.

If I have stepped out of the line of my duty to make this request, I am perswaded you will excuse it when I add, that the good of the Service not only in my judgment, but [in] that of others, absolutely requires it [to be carried into execution].⁶⁸ I have the honor etc.

To THE CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD

Head Quarters, October 27, 1777.

Gentlemen: I this morning received your favour of the 26th. I refer you to a letter which I wrote you a few hours ago,

68. The bracketed portions show the words inserted by Robert Hanson Harrison, who thus endeavored to improve Washington's diction, striking out such of Washington's words as interfered with Harrison's concepts of phraseology.

urging the necessity of Scutling the Frigates immediately. I then imagined that there were a considerable number of Seamen on Board of them; but since I have seen the Returns, I think the necessity more pressing. The people on board could not defend them against a couple of armed Boats. An intelligent lad from Philadelphia says they have been bringing Seamen and flat Boats from the Fleet below, and it is more than probable that they may have their Eye upon the Frigates above, I therefore would advise you to sink, not only them, immediately upon the receipt of this, but every other Vessel, capable of being converted into an armed Vessel⁶⁹ The smaller Craft and flat Boats, that are not wanted to transport troops occasionally, to be carried as high up the Creeks and River as possible. The soldiers that were on board the Frigates to be sent under the care of an officer to join their Regiments and the few Seamen down to our Fleet. If those Watermen that you mention, who are on board private Vessels, could be prevailed upon by any means to serve in our fleet till the Frost, it would answer a very valuable purpose, and rather than

Library of Congress

miss of them I would offer handsome terms, [but not so much as to occasion jealousy and uneasiness in those already in Service.] I have the honor to be etc.⁷⁰

69. The Marine Committee of Congress reported to that body that having considered General Washington's order to scuttle the frigates in the Delaware to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy "are of opinion that the frigates should be lightened as much as possible, and either run into some adjacent creek or hauled as high upon shore as may be without ballast, and a battery constructed with the guns of the *Washington* on the most convenient ground to cover the frigates from the enemy; that the frigates should be charged properly with combustibles, and a careful watch employed under a vigilant officer to burn them rather than let them fall into the hands of the enemy; and lest this should fail, that a sufficient number of small craft should be sunk in the channel below the frigates, effectually to obstruct the enemy from moving them down the river, if they should happen to gain possession of them; and a battery be constructed in the most convenient manner to cover the obstructions and prevent the enemy from removing them; that all the vessels of whatever kind should be run up as high above the batteries aforesaid as possible, and the most effectual precautions taken immediately on the approach of the enemy." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Nov. 4, 1777.) General Washington, if he approved this plan, was to furnish a detachment of troops to aid in the construction and management of the batteries.

70. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The phrase in brackets is in Washington's writing.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, October 28, 1777.

Sir: You are [immediately, or] as soon as the weather will permit, to proceed to Woodberry with the Brigade under your command. Your most convenient Route will be from this to Bristol, thence to Mount Holly [across the Delaware,] thence to Haddonfield and thence

Library of Congress

to the place of your destination. You will be circumspect on your march [and use every precaution] to prevent [your party] being surprised or intercepted. The design of [sending you to Woodberry] your expedition is to aid and give greater security to the Garrisons at Red-bank and Fort Mifflin; for which purpose you will [punctually] cooperate with them. [in every necessary measure. You will probably find] Genl. Forman will be in the neighbourhood of Red-bank, at the head of a body of Jersey Militia; as he is there for the same end, that you [will] are to be, a cooperation between you and him will be also requisite.

I cannot delineate particularly the line of conduct you are to observe. I leave it to your own discretion, to be adapted to circumstances. The[se] general idea[s], I would however throw out; [is,] That you are in conjunction with the Jersey Militia, to give the garrisons [and fleet] all the assistance and relief in your power. That as the men in them must be greatly harrassed by labor and watching, and in need of rest and refreshment,

[I would have] you are to send detachments from time to time to relieve and replace an equal number from the garrisons, who are during the interval to remain and act with you. That you are [also] occasionally to reinforce them with additional numbers, as they may stand in need of it. That, in case of an attack upon, or investiture of Red-bank, you are to act upon the rear or flanks of the enemy; not to throw your troops into the Fort, except such reinforcements from them as may really be wanted in defence of the works.

Woodberry I have pitched upon as a general Station, from its nearness to the forts, and the greater facility there will be, on that account, to answer in common, the ends proposed. [In case of the] On any approach of the enemy towards you, you are to take such a Situation as shall seem to you most eligible.

I hope it is unnecessary to caution you to be, in every circumstance, upon your guard against surprises. At Woodberry you will be between two creeks, if you can draw any security from this, by breaking down bridges, or otherwise, so as to render the march

Library of Congress

of the enemy in [their] approaching you, more circuitous, [or to lessen the number of approaches,] it will be an advantage worth improving. I am etc.

P.S. In case you should find it necessary to send a reinforcemt. of Artillery-men into Red-bank; you are not to send Capt. Lee⁷⁶ with them, because Capt. Du Plessis services merit, and, it is my wish, he should not be superceeded in the command of the Artillery there; which would happen, should Capt. Lee go into the Garrison being an older officer.⁷⁷

[.R.I.H.S.]

76. Capt. James Lee, of the Second Continental Artillery. He resigned in December, 1779.

77. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton; the draft, in the *Washington Papers*, is also in that of Hamilton. The bracketed portions are in the draft and do not appear in the letter sent.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN GREEN

Head Quarters, October 28, 1777.

Sir: Colonel Arendt writes me, that the state of his health will make it absolutely necessary for him, to withdraw himself awhile from the garrison. I am apprehensive, that, during his absence, there may arise some difficulty about the command between you and Lt. Colo. Smith, as it is uncertain which of your commissions is oldest, and cannot now be easily determined. The good of the service however requires, that disputes of such a nature should be waved, and as Lt. Colo. Smith had originally the command of the post, has been longer in it, and may be supposed to have more thoroughly considered every circumstance of its defence, than one who has been less time there, these are arguments with me, in the present uncertainty, respecting rank, that it should be waved in his favour. I have no doubt that they will have their full weight with you when duly considered, and that you will readily avoid any difference about punctilios, when the advancement of the service, in the least degree, may seem to require it. Relying upon this, I flatter myself you will chearfully

Library of Congress

acquiesce in Colo. Smith's command, in the absence of the Baron, and that there will be the most perfect harmony subsisting between you. I am etc.⁷⁹

79. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, October 28, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 26th. As there seems to be a doubt of the priority of the date of your or Lt. Colonel Green's Commissions, I have in a letter of this date, desired him to wave the matter in dispute for the present, and act under your command, as you have been in the Fort from the beginning and must be better acquainted with the nature of the defences than a Stranger.

I have ordered a very handsome detachment for the reinforcement of Forts Mifflin and Mercer, and the Gallies, they have been ready since yesterday, but the weather has been such, that they could not march. When they arrive, the duty will not be so severe, and if the men that you carried down at first can possibly be spared they shall be relieved. I will send them down necessaries out of the first that arrive from Lancaster. You seem to have mistaken the Commodore's meaning. From his letter I understand that he will always assist you, whenever it is in his power. He tells you, that in rough Weather his Gallies and Armed Boats cannot live and therefore guards you against expecting much assistance from them at such times. I beg you, of all things, not to Suffer any Jealousies between the land and Sea Service to take place. Consider that your mutual security depends upon acting perfectly in concert. I have wrote to

Colo. Green to afford you every possible assistance from Red Bank till the reinforcement gets down. I have the greatest hopes that this storm of Rain and Wind at N. E., will overflow all the Enemy's works upon Province Island and ruin the new Roads they have

Library of Congress

been making. I recommend every attention to you and I hope a glorious success will reward your exertions. I am &ca.

P.S. Keep the Banks of Province Island constantly cut and you will embarrass the Enemy excessively. Do not mention any thing of the expectation of a reinforcement lest the Enemy take means to intercept them.⁸⁰

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, October 28, 1777.

Sir: In consequence of your representation of the Weakness of your Fleet, I have ordered a return of Sailors in the Army to be made to me, and find they amount to more than 100, which will march with a Detachment for the Forts, as soon as the weather will permit. This reinforcement, I expect, will amply supply your wants, and enable you to give every assistance to the Forts that can be reasonably expected from you, and as their strength will be greatly augmented, it is my most earnest desire, that every

⁸⁰. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

mode may be adopted, by which your force may be brought to Cooperate against the designs and approaches of the Enemy, and that a mutual confidence and perfect understanding may cheerfully take place.

The Ammunition which you have and will receive, is to be considered as sent for the use of the whole, and distributed accordingly.

As there is a greater possibility, that the reduction of the Forts might be effected by surprise, than any other means, you will see the necessity of giving them every aid by your Gondolas and guard Boats, as may effectually prevent any mischance of this kind. I am &ca.⁸¹

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Qurs., Philada. County, October 30, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am informed by Genl. Dickinson, that he has intelligence, which he thinks may be depended upon, that Sr. Henry Clinton, with all the troops under his command, has returned down the River. If this is so, and the Brigades of Nixon and Glover should have joined you from the Northward, I desire they may be immediately put under march to reinforce this

81. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

Army. Colo. Hamilton, who will deliver or send you this, will inform you of the necessity there is for it, and how many good consequences will result from dispatch. In my last, I desired that the Detachments belonging to Varnum's and Huntingtons Brigades might be sent forward; if they have not marched before this reaches you, order those belonging to Varnum, which now consists of Green's, Angells, Chandlers and Durkees, not to cross the Delaware, but to proceed by the shortest Route to Red Bank upon the Jersey shore, where the Brigade is stationed. I refer you to Colo. Hamilton for all particulars relating to the situation of this Army and that of the Enemy and am, Dear Sir etc.90

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters near White Marsh, 15 Miles from Philadelphia, October 30, 1777.

Sir: By this Opportunity, I do myself the pleasure to congratulate you on the signal success of the Army under your command, in compelling Genl. Burgoyne and his whole force, to surrender themselves prisoners of War. An Event that does the highest honor to the American Arms, and which, I hope, will be attended with the most extensive and happy consequences. At the same time, I cannot but regret, that a matter of such magnitude

Library of Congress

90. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

and so interesting to our General Operations, should have reached me by report only, or thro' the Channel of Letters, not bearing that authenticity, which the importance of it required, and which it would have received by a line under your signature, stating the simple fact.

Our affairs having happily terminated at the Northward, I have, by the advice of my Genl. Officers, sent Colo. Hamilton, one of my aids, to lay before you a full state of our Situation and that of the Enemy in this Quarter. He is well informed upon the subject, and will deliver my Sentiments upon the plan of operations that is now necessary to be pursued. I think it improper to enter into a particular detail, not being well advised how matters are circumstanced on the North River, and fearing that by some accident my Letter might miscarry. From Colo. Hamilton you will have a clear and comprehensive view of things, and I persuade myself, you will do all in your power, to facilitate the objects I have in contemplation.⁹¹ I am etc.⁹²

[N.Y.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Head Quarters, October 30, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favour of 26th. Instant, covering Governor

91. On November 2 Gates wrote to Washington that Morgan's regiment had marched from Saratoga, October 18, and "will soon be in the Neighbourhood of your Excellency's Camp. Congress having been requested immediately to transmit Copies of all my Dispatches to them, I am Confident Your Excellency has long ago received all the Good News from this Quarter." The last letter from Gates to Congress, requesting the forwarding of any

Library of Congress

information, is dated October 4. Hamilton, on his way to Gates, met Morgan's corps at Fishkill November 2.

92. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Livingston's Letter to you, I received last evening, by which I observe he does not think himself authorized to give you the necessary orders respecting a compliance with my requisition.

Genl. Forman has been at Red Bank some days and has collected a small number of Men there, I have heard nothing of Genl. Newcomb for some time past, Genl. Forman writes me that he has issued orders to him, to join him without loss of time, with all the Men he can possibly raise, which, it seems, he has hitherto neglected notwithstanding my most pressing admonitions to him on this Head.

If upon the arrival of Genl. Winds⁹⁶ you find that the time for which his men were raised, is nearly expired, it will not answer any valuable purpose for him to proceed with them, unless you think they might be replaced there.

The terms of Genl. Burgoyne's surrender came to my hands a few days since. I am &ca.⁹⁷

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Head Qurs., Philada. County, October 30, 1777.

Dear Sir: It having been judged expedient by the members

96. Brig. Gen. William Winds, of the New Jersey Militia.

97. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

Library of Congress

of a Council of War held Yesterday, that one of the Gentlemen of my family should be sent to Genl. Gates, in order to lay before him the State of this Army and the Situation of the Enemy, and to point out to him the many happy consequences that will accrue from an immediate reinforcement being sent from the Northern Army; I have thought proper to appoint you to that duty, and desire that you will immediately set out for Albany, at which place, or in the neighbourhood, I imagine, you will find General Gates.

You are so fully acquainted with the two principal points on which you are sent, namely the "State of our Army and the Situation of the Enemy" that I shall not enlarge on those heads. What you are chiefly to attend to, is to point out, in the clearest and fullest manner, to Genl. Gates, the absolute necessity that there is for his detaching a very considerable part of the Army at present under his command to the reinforcement of this. A measure that will in all probability reduce Genl. Howe to the same situation in which Genl. Burgoyne now is, should he attempt to remain in Philadelphia without being able to remove the obstructions in Delaware, and opening a free communication with his shipping.

The Force which the Members of the Council of War judged it safe and expedient to draw down at present, are the three New Hampshire and Fifteen Massachusetts Regiments with Lee's and Jackson's two of the 16 Additional. But it is more than probable that Genl. Gates may have destined part of these Troops to

the reduction of Ticonderoga, should the Enemy not have evacuated it, or to the garrisoning of it, if they should. In that case, the reinforcement will vary according to circumstances; but, if possible, let it be made up to the same number out of other Corps.⁹³

If, upon your meeting with Genl. Gates, you should find that he intends, in consequence of his Success, to employ the Troops under his command upon some expedition, by the prosecution of which the common cause will be more benefited than by their being sent down to reinforce this Army, it is not my wish to give any interruption to the plan. But if he should have nothing more in contemplation, than those particular objects which I have

Library of Congress

mentioned to you and which it is unnecessary to commit to paper, in that case you are to inform him, that it is my desire that the reinforcements before mentioned or such part of them as can be safely spared, be immediately put in march to join this Army.

I have understood, that Genl. Gates has already detached Nixon's and Glover's Brigades to join Genl. Putnam, and Genl. Dickinson informs me, that by intelligence, which he thinks may be depended upon, St. Henry Clinton has come down the River with his whole force. If this be a fact, you are to desire Genl. Putnam to send the two Brigades forward with the greatest expedition, as there can be no occasion for them there.⁹⁴

I expect you will meet Colo. Morgan's Corps upon their way down; if you do, let them know how essential their Services are to us and desire the Colo. or commanding Officers to hasten their march,

93. At this point there was stricken out the following: "You are to bear in mind that the demand for the above number of Troops is more in the nature of a requisition than a command, for Genl. Gates may, in consequences of his success have set some."

94. On October 26, after demolishing Forts Clinton and Montgomery and burning the barracks at Peekskill, Clinton retreated down the Hudson. Poor's, Warner's, Learned's, and Paterson's brigades were on their march to join Putnam, and these, exclusive of Morgan's riflemen, brought Putnam's total strength to about 9,000. Putnam called a council of war (October 31), which decided that 4,000 should move down to Hayerstraw, 1,000 should remain in the Highlands, and the remainder should move down toward Kings Bridge, while Morgan's corps should join Washington at once. The proceedings of the council are in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

as much as is consistent with the health of the men after their late fatigues.

Let me hear from you when you reach the North River and upon your arrival at Albany. I wish you a pleasant Journey and am etc.⁹⁵

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, October 31, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 25th. from Fishkill. Although you say that the Enemy have passed down by that place, you do not say whether they have gone entirely down and evacuated the Forts upon the River, but from the tenor of your letter I imagine they have. I shall be glad to be particularly informed of this in your next, and also whether you have heard with certainty of the reinforcements having gone from N. York to Genl. Howe. We have a report that the Enemy have evacuated Rhode Island and returned to New York, but as it comes from no Authority, I shall be glad to be ascertained of the fact. If the Enemy have left the Forts, be pleased to let me know whether they have carried off or damaged the cannon.

I am glad to hear that Genl. Gates was sending

95. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

down a reinforcement to you; as they will not now be wanted by you, they will be so far upon their way towards this Army, and I beg they may be sent forward with as much expedition as possible, for the reasons given you in mine of yesterday. I am &ca.98

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, October 31, 1777.

Sir: The loss of our heavy Cannon on the North River, and the possibility, however remote, of our losing those which are in the Forts on the Delaware, in which case we should be totally divested of these necessary opponents to the Enemys Fleet, make it adviseable to remove from Red Bank and Fort Mifflin, all the large Calibers that can possibly be spared from the necessary defence of those posts, to some place of safety where they may be

Library of Congress

kept in reserve. Fort Mifflin has had an acquisition of cannon, taken from the Wreck of the Augusta, by which this will probably have a superfluous number. The approaching Frosts will effectually stop the Blasts of our Furnaces, which is a farther cogent Reason for making a store of heavy Cannon in case of accidents to our Forts. I mentioned in my Letter to Genl. Forman, that the Crews on board the Galleys should not expose themselves to the Fire of a Battery which he thinks the Enemy have raised for

98. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

the purpose of interrupting them; but if a plan which I have suggested to him can be carried into execution, the difficulty will be removed and a farther acquisition made of the valuable Article in question. I am &ca.1

P.S. It will be necessary to consult the Commodore, upon the Subject above mentioned, he will judge of the safety with which the Galleys may proceed in dragging for the Cannon.2

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Head Quarters, October 31, 1777.

Sir: Your Complaints respecting the Conduct of Brigr. Genl. Newcomb, give me the more concern at this time, as such backwardness and unwillingness to fulfil the Duties of his station as have been laid to his charge, might at this juncture have been attended with the most pernicious Consequences. As you have been a witness of his misconduct, you will be a very proper person to make a pointed Representation of it to those in Authority, who have a right to take cognisance of it, I shall do the same. The appearance of such a reinforcement as has lately been sent from this Army will perhaps induce the Militia to assemble with greater Readiness than they have discovered hitherto. I have no doubt of the continuance of your Zeal and Efforts to collect a respectable body, and your success will be the more probable, as some of the obstacles to it are now removed.

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1. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.
2. The P.S. is not in the draft but is taken from this letter as printed in the *Magazine of American History*, vol. 7. The printed text there varies slightly from the draft, but in suchwise as to rouse suspicion of its accuracy.

If the Battery which you say is raising, be intended to annoy the Galleys that are fishing up the Spoils of the Augusta, it would be proper to restrain the Crews from exposing themselves in dragging for Cannon which they may get up hereafter without risk, much more so, if their object be only the plunder of Seamen's Chests &ca.

If the work above mentioned be a Simple Battery, it may be practicable to surprise and attack it in reverse, at little or no Ex-pence. This you will duly consider and act accordingly, for we are not to exceed the limits of defensive war, unless some very favourable opportunity be offered. I am &ca.³

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Head Quarters, October 31, 1777.

Sir: As soon as the Schuylkill is fordable, I shall send over a large body of Militia to you, for the purpose of executing some particular matters. The principal are, to endeavour to break up the Road, by which the Enemy have a communication with their Shipping over the Islands, if it is practicable and to remove the running Stones from the Mills in the Neighbourhood of Chester and Wilmington. This last, I would have you undertake immediately

3. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

with your present force, as I have information that the Enemy are about making a Detachment to Wilmington, probably with an intent to take post there, and secure the

Library of Congress

use of the Mills. To execute this matter at once, you should impress a sufficient number of Waggon's for the purpose, without letting any person know what they are for, and send them under good Officers with Sufficient parties to the following Mills. Lloyd's about two Miles on this side of Chester. Shaw's about one Mile back of Chester. Robinson's on Naamans Creek and the Brandywine Mills. If there are any others that I have not mentioned, contiguous to the River, they are also to be dismounted. Many of the Mills have spare runners, they must also be removed. The stones should be marked with Tar and Grease or in some other manner, that it may be known to what Mills they belong, that they may be returned and made use of in future. And they should be moved to such distance, that the Enemy cannot easily recover them. If there is any Flour in the Mills, it should be removed, if possible, after the Stones are secured. I am informed that there is a considerable quantity in Shaw's particularly, which there is reason to believe is intended for the Enemy. It is very convenient to the navigation to Chester Creek and should therefore be first taken care of. I beg you may instantly set about this work for the reason before mentioned. That no previous alarm may be given, let a certain day and a certain hour be fixed upon for the execution of the whole at one time, and even the Officers, who are to do the Business, should not know

their destination till just before they set out, lest it should take wind.

I have yours of yesterday afternoon and am glad to hear that the flood has done so much damage to the meadows, endeavour by all means to keep the breaches open. When the party that I mentioned in the former part of my letter gets down, I hope you will be able to break up the dykes effectually. I am &ca.

P.S. I have desired Capt. Lee⁴ of the light Horse to give you any assistance that you may want.⁵

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Library of Congress

Head Quarters, November 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: As representation has been made to me, that the Purchase of Cattle has intirely ceased for some time past in the State of Connecticut, by means of those Gentlemen not chusing to act who were appointed by Congress for that purpose, by which our Army may possibly suffer for the want of Meat in a short time. I have therefore to request that you will without loss of time appoint one or more Gentlemen in that State who will immediately set about this desirable Business, and forward what they can procure to the Commissary of Purchases at this Army after supplying the Troops which may be beyond the North River. Mr. Buchanan¹⁹ (Commissary

4. Capt. Henry ("Light Horse Harry") Lee.

5. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

19. William Buchanan, Commissary General of Purchases of the Continental Army.

General) will go to Connecticut in a short time and ratify any contracts as well as pay the Gentleman you think proper to nominate for his trouble &ca. or pay any drafts here which may be necessarily drawn by him. I am &ca.²⁰

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 1, 1777.

Sir: I hope this will find you arrived safe at Red Bank with your detachment. By letters from the Baron D'Arendt, who has retired for a few days to the Jersey side, for the benefit of his health, I understand that what they principally fear at Fort Mifflin is a surprise by night, or a lodgment upon the upper end of the Island, by which they may cover themselves before morning and open a Battery upon the Rear of the Fort, which is only secured by Pallisadoes. The only method of guarding effectually against this, is by keeping Boats

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stationed at night between Fort and Province Island to give an immediate alarm, and when the weather is calm, if the Gallies were to lay near the Island to be ready to begin to fire upon the first landing of the Enemy, it would harrass and retard them much in their operations. I am afraid that matters do not go on smoothly

20. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

between the commandant at Fort Mifflin and the Commodore, as there are every now and then complaints of inattention in the Commodore, but I do not know whether with just Grounds. I beg you will do all in your power to reconcile any differences that may have arisen, not by taking notice of them in a direct manner, but by recommending unanimity and demonstrating the manifest advantages of it. As the Commodore will have a considerable reinforcement after you arrive, I hope he will be able to afford more assistance than he has hitherto done.²¹ You will have an opportunity of seeing and conversing with the Baron Arendt, and I must beg you will lay such plans, as will most effectually contribute to the mutual support and defence of your posts, for you are to consider that if one falls the other goes of course. As soon as you have looked about you and taken a survey of the Ground about you I shall be glad to have your opinion of matters. I am &ca.²²

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

November 1, 1777.

Dear Sir: When I last had the pleasure of seeing you, I advised you to collect all the Shoes, Stockings, Shirts, Breeches, &ca. which could be spared by the Country, in order to supply such of the Soldiery, as might stand most in need of them, and gave you every

21. At this point in the draft the following is crossed out: "I have repeatedly ordered the whole of Province Island except the part upon which the Fort stands to be laid under water, but from Colo. Smith's last letter I do not clearly understand."

Library of Congress

The charge was that Commodore Hazelwood did not use the armed galleys to prevent the British Navy from sending in supplies to the army in Philadelphia every night. The route of the vessels after dark was between Province Island and Fort Mifflin, which could not use its cannon, except by wasting precious ammunition by random firing in the dark.

22. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Authority in my power for this purpose. Now, as the Detachment which first marched down to Fort Mifflin under command of Lt. Colo. Smith, must be much distressed for Cloathing, I have desired him to call upon you, and request you may furnish him with such of these Articles as you have got, and he may stand in need of. The Situation of these men, I am satisfied, will induce you to do every thing in your power upon this occasion. I am etc.²³

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, November 1, 1777.

Sir: I have this moment received your favour of Yesterday, and hope General Varnum with the Detachment from this Army, have by this time arrived to your support, and that your little Garrison will, with the greatest confidence and vigor, exert itself to baffle every attempt of the Enemy to reduce it. When I last saw General Forman, I authorized him to collect all the Cloathing, such as shoes, stockings, shirts, Breeches &ca. which he possibly could; and by this Opportunity I have requested him, to let you have as many of them as he can spare for your Men, who, I make no doubt must be greatly in want of them, you will therefore apply to him.

23. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

From the idea I at present bear of the Island on which your fort stands, I am of opinion, that, if the upper end of it was laid under water, it would very much retard any operations of the Enemy against you; but whether this is practicable, or whether opening the Banks

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to effect it, would not be productive of Inconvenience to the Fort, I leave to you and the Officers with you to determine, and only mean to propose it for your consideration. I am
&ca.23

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Whitpin, Morris's, 24 November 2, 1777.

Sir: Upon maturely considering the nature of the fortress on Mud Island, incomplete in such works as would secure it against Storm, and investigating what mode of defence is best adapted to its deficiency in this respect, it appears absolutely necessary to keep the Enemy at bay, as much as possible and confine them to distant Combat, this can only be effected by the cooperation of the Fleet under your command, or such part of it as may appear to you proper to be detached for the purpose. Nothing but the fire of your Vessels and Galleys can prevent the Enemy's making a descent upon the Island, if they are determined to effect it by such a sacrifice as the importance of the object to them certainly deserves. I would advise therefore, in case of the

23. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

24. Morris's was James Morris's house, now called "Dawesfield," about 1 mile west of Ambler, Pa.

Enemys attempting to throw a number of men over in boats, not to suffer the attention of the Fleet to be intirely called off by any concerted attempt, which may be made on the Chevaux de frize at the same time; but to order a sufficient number of Galleys to meet their boats and keep up a well directed fire, or board them as Circumstances may require; in a word every measure should be taken, which your skill in naval manœuvres can dictate, to prevent them from getting footing on the Island. A fire of red hot balls, thrown with Judgment from a few Vessels, and the solidity of the work itself will be a sufficient security, in the mean time, to the Chevaux de frize. If the Enemy can be foiled

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in this Stratagem of causing a diversion to your fleet, by cannonading from their ships, and making preparations to clear the Chevaux de frize, there will be but one way left them which is to attempt a landing by night, how necessary the Guardianships of the Galleys will be in such case, must be obvious. If a sudden assault from superior numbers, taking the advantage of weak parts, would be dreadful by day, when something of the Enemy's designs is to be discovered, how fatal might it be in the confusion of darkness, when the Guns of the Fort could not be brought to bear.

Galleys stationed between the Fort and Province Island at night, are the only security which the Garrison could have in such case against a sudden descent from the Enemy, covered perhaps by false attacks

and Demonstration from the Shipping.

You are the best Judge of the most proper Situation for the Galleys; however, if there is no cogent Reason for keeping the whole of them on the Jersey side, it appears to me that stationing them or part of them where they will be within distance for giving immediate Support to the Garrison on Mud Island would be turning their Service to the best account. I am &ca.25

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 4, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 27th. Ult. and am glad to find that the Enemy have fallen intirely down to New York. By their doing this, and sending away a reinforcement to Genl. Howe, it is evident that they have done with all thoughts of attempting any thing further to the Northward. Having lost one Army, it is certainty their interest and intention to make the other as respectable as possible, and as their force is now nearly drawn together at one point, in Philadelphia, it is undoubtedly our plan to endeavour, by an union of our Forces, to destroy Genl. Howe. To effect this purpose,

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you will, as directed in my two last, send on Poor's Brigade as soon as it arrives, and the Regiments of Lee and Jackson from

25. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

Boston. If any more troops come down the River except they be those of New York, you will likewise send them on. I think it would be advisable for you to call upon Govr. Clinton and Govr. Trumbull for a small number of Militia, to assist the Continental troops that remain with you in putting Forts Clinton and Mountgomery in repair. I am etc.

P. S. In order to distract and alarm the Enemy and perhaps keep a greater force at New York than they intended Genl. Dickinson will contrive to convey intelligence that they will look upon as authentic, that he is to make a descent upon Staten Island, you upon Long Island and Genl. Gates directly upon New York. If you throw out hints of this kind before people that you think will send in the intelligence, it will serve to corroborate that given by General Dickinson.

Yours of the 31st. October is just come to hand, and it gives me pleasure to find, that the opinion of your council coincided exactly with ours here. To crush Genl. Howe effectually is the real and great object, I therefore beg no more Continental Troops may be retained, than are absolutely necessary, with the assistance of the Militia, to repair the Works in the Highlands. If a feint is made towards Kingsbridge, I had rather it should be principally with militia. You must not forget to send as many cattle forward as you possibly can, for not having had any supplies

from New England since August last, we have exhausted the Beef in this quarter very considerably, and you know our Army will be much increased.⁵

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 4, 1777.

Library of Congress

Dear Sir: I have received your Letter of the 1st. Instr. informing me of the delay of the Governor and Council in giving an answer on the subject of my last to you, and the reluctance of the Eastern Militia to abandon Elizabeth Town. To compensate for the backwardness of the latter in obeying orders, which they themselves do not absolutely approve, and make the best of their thwarting disposition, you propose a plan of operations which you think would be so perfectly coincident with the desires of the Militia, as greatly to increase their numbers, and which at the same time might be productive of important good consequences. I should perfectly agree with you and press the Execution, if the advanced Season, the consequent difficulty of breaking Ground, and the great danger of having Troops cut off that might be landed on Long Island, did not present themselves to me, as obstacles which render the enterprise ineligible.

Your idea of counteracting the intended Reinforcements for Mr. Howe's Army, by a demonstration of designs upon New York, I think an exceeding good one, and am very desirous that you should

5. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

improve and mature it for immediate execution, a great shew of Preparatives on your side, boats collected, Troops assembled, Your expectation of the approach of Generals Gates and Putnam, intrusted as a secret to persons who you are sure will divulge and disseminate it in New York; in a word, such measures taken for effectually striking an alarm in that city, and which it is altogether unnecessary for me minutely to describe to you, I am in great hopes may effect the valuable purpose which you expect. I am etc.⁶

***To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM**

White Marsh, November 4, 1777.

Dear Sir: The Inclosed I had written to Colo. Green before your favour of yesterday reached my hands. I am happy in receiving so favourable a report, as your Letter contains,

Library of Congress

of the situation of the Forts. I most devoutly wish that the exertions of yourself and Officers may be crown'd with the success that so good a cause, and such labours, deserve.

My Letters to Comodore Hazelwood, and Colo. Green, go unopen'd under this cover, that you may read, Seal, and deliver them. If the measure proposed in the Letter to Colo. Green, can be carried into execution no time should be lost.

6. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

I thank you for your endeavours to restore confidence between the Corer. and Smith. I find something of the same kind existing between Smith and Monsr. Fleury, who I consider as a very valuable Officer. How strange it is that Men, engaged in the same Important Service, should be eternally bickering, instead of giving mutual aid! Officers cannot act upon proper principles, who suffer trifles to interpose to create distrust and jealousy. All our actions should be regulated by one uniform Plan, and that Plan should have one object only in view, to wit, the good of the Service. Where this is the case, although there may be a diversity of opinion there can be no real obstruction. I hope all these little rubs will be done away by your prudent management. I am etc.

P.S. What force have the Enemy at Billingsport? Is there a moral certainty (with your force) of driving them from thence? If there is, I have no objection to the attempt, but wish circumstances to be well considered before any resolution is come to.⁷

***To COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE**

White Marsh, November 4, 1777.

Sir: I am led to believe from the conversation I have had with Lt Colo. Green, that you have made Fort Mercer

Library of Congress

7. The letter sent, a facsimile of which is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress, is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade, with the P.S. in that of Washington. The draft is in the writing of Washington, with the P.S. in that of Meade.

impregnable against an assault, and that nothing is to be feared but from regular approaches, and Shells; to guard against the first, it will be found necessary to have some out Works, which time may, possibly, allow you to raise. to secure the Garrison against the Second, some Bomb proofs should be constructed. The first you can easily do; but how far the other is practicable I know not for want of competent knowledge of the place, its extent &ca. I would suggest to you however, by way of quære, whether caverns could not be cut out of the Bank below the work and supported (the Earth) by Pillars would not be the quickest, and most effectual method. If this should be found to answer, all your Men, in case of a Bombardment, might be concealed in them, except such as should be found necessary for Guards.

It is unnecessary I am perswaded to suggest to you the propriety of keeping a sufficient quantity of Salt provision and Bread or Flour in the Fort in case of an Investiture, as also Wood for Fires and Cooking. I am etc.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL PERSIFOR FRAZER

Head Quarters, November 4, 1777.

Sir: I have been favor'd with your Letter of the 9th. Ulto.

and was sorry to find, that the situation of our Officers was so disagreeable. You are well acquainted with the treatment of the prisoners in our hands, and therefore can determine without difficulty, how just the grounds for your confinement are.

In respect to a General exchange of prisoners, it has ever been my wish, that it should take place on just and equal terms. My Letters to Genl Howe upon the subject, I trust,

Library of Congress

evinced this to have been the case. I have written to him again, and shall be happy, if we can effect so desirable an Object, on proper principles. If this cannot be done, I have proposed, that it should be no impediment to the Exchange of All the Officers, as far as circumstances of Rank and number will apply; And if any should then remain, that they may be released on parole. The first mode mentioned for the liberation of the Officers, I expect, will be most agreeable to both parties. You may imagine your Letter upon this Subject, might have received an earlier Answer. I assure you, the delay has not proceeded from inattention to the distresses of our prisoners, or want of inclination to afford them every possible relief. I am etc.⁸

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

Head Quarters, November 4, 1777.

Sir: I have received your Letter dated Yesterday,

8. From a facsimile in the *Washington Papers*, in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

giving an account of the reinforcement which you expect from Genl. Varnum and the supplies of Clothing from Genl. Forman; it gives me pain to learn that the latter are likely to be so inadequate to your wants, but hope that by taken proper measures, the Contributions of the Inhabitants will not prove so poor a resource as you seem to fear.

Inclosed is a Letter to Major Fleury, whom I ordered to Fort Mifflin to serve in quality of Engineer, as he is a young man of talents and has made this branch of Military Service his particular study. I place a confidence in him, you will therefore make the best arrangement for enabling him to carry such plans into execution, as come within his Department, his authority at the same time that it is subordinate to yours must be sufficient for putting into practice what his knowledge of Fortification points out as necessary for defending the post, and his Department, tho inferior, being of a distinct and separate nature, requires that his orders should be in a great degree discretionary, and that he should be suffered to

Library of Congress

exercise his judgment; persuaded that you will concur with him in every measure which the good of the Service may require.⁹ I remain &ca.¹⁰

9. The letter to Fleury was signed by Laurens, as aide-de-camp, and directed the engineer to proceed to Fort Mifflin and receive his authority to act there from Lieutenant Colonel Smith. A copy of this letter, dated Nov. 4, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*.

10. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

To MAJOR JOHN CLARK, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, 10 O'Clock A. M., November 4, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have just received your favour of 8 O'Clock last Evening and think you have fallen upon an exceeding good method of gaining intelligence and that too much secrecy cannot be used, both on account of the safety of your Friend and the execution and continuance of your design, which may be of Service to us.¹¹

In your next, I'd have you mention that General

11. Clark's letter, dated Nov. 3, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*. Washington made up a false return of the strength of the Continental Army, with a brief memorandum of his intended movements, and Clark's spy carried it in to Sir William Howe on his next trip.

Gates, now having nothing to do to the Northward, is sending down a very Handsome Reinforcement of Continental Troops to this Army, whilst he with the remainder of them and all the New England and York Militia, is to make an immediate descent on New York, the reduction of which is confidently spoke of, as it is generally supposed that a large part of Clinton's Troops are detached to the assistance of Genl. Howe, and that Genl. Dickinson is at the same time to attack Staten Island, for which purpose he is Assembling great numbers of the Jersey Militia; that the received opinion in our Camp is, that we will immediately attack Philadelphia on the arrival of the Troops from the Northward, and that I

Library of Congress

have prevailed upon the Legislative Body to order out two thirds of the Militia of this State for that purpose; that you heard great talk of the Virginia and Maryland Militia coming up, and in short that the whole Continent seems determined that we use every exertion to put an end to the War this winter; that we mention the forts as being perfectly secure, having sent ample Reinforcements to their support.

These are the outlines of what I think should be mentioned, however you will make any alteration you think necessary.

A report of our having made a fortunate stroke at Rhode Island prevailed, but I much doubt it is premature and that little or nothing is done there. The bearer will deliver you the paper you mention.¹² I am etc.¹³

12. Clark had requested a quire of writing paper.

13. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 4, 1777.

Sir: General Potter and Captt. Lee, who are posted upon the west side of Schuylkill to interrupt the Enemy's communication across the Islands, both assure me, that they undoubted pass by night with Boats between Province and Mud Island and into Schuylkill. If this passage is not stopped in some measure, it is in vain to think of hindering them from getting supplies from their Shipping as long as the River remains free of Ice. I will not undertake to point out to you the mode of doing this, but in my opinion the most probable is, to keep small Boats rowing guard between the south end of Mud Island and Pennsylvania Shore, and a Galley or two under the North end of Mud Island, when the weather will permit. If the Guard Boats make a signal, the Gallies may get ready to intercept the Convoy. The Enemy will not chuse to fire in the dark, because there will be

Library of Congress

a greater chance of damaging their own craft, than hurting our Armed Vessels, as being greater in number. I beg you will immediately fall upon this or any other scheme, which to you may seem more effectual to put a stop to this intercourse. I am etc.¹⁴

14. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, November 5, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 22d. and 25th. of October. As you have wrote to Congress respecting the difficulty of supplying the prisoners of Genl. Burgoyne's Army with Quarters, Fuel and Provisions, I imagine they will give proper directions in the matter. I do not think it to our interest to expedite the passage of the prisoners to England, for you may depend upon it that they will, immediately upon their arrival there, throw them into their different Garrisons, and bring out an equal number. Now if they sail in December, they may arrive time enough to take the places of others who may be out in May, which is as early as a Campaign can be well entered upon. I look upon it, that there principal difficulty will arise, from the want of provisions for the voyage, and therefore altho' I would supply them with Rations agreeable to stipulation, I would not furnish an ounce for Sea Store, nor suffer it to be purchased in the Country.

The account you give of the appropriation of the Arms, which had been drawn for Henly's, Lee's and Jackson's Regiments is perfectly satisfactory.

What you say respecting the disabled Soldiers to the North. ward, is agreeable to my idea of the matter, and I would therefore have you embody them at convenient places for

the present, and when they get fit for small services let them Mount the guards at the Elaboratories and places where Stores are deposited. I dare say we shall have subjects enough to establish a Corps of invalids in the Eastern as well as the middle Colonies.

Library of Congress

The present State of the Commissary's department gives me great uneasiness, and I fear, that by the removal of the old Officers during the active part of the Campaign, the Army will suffer. I am however obliged to you, for the information respecting the inattention that has hitherto been paid to the putting up Meat to the Eastward, which is the Country we depend upon for Beef, and where all our Salt is deposited. I shall immediately write to the new Commissary General of purchases and know why this neglect has happened.

The expedition to Rhode Island is just as much a secret to me as it is to you. I never was consulted upon it neither do I know from whence or whom it originated. You must therefore apply to Congress for directions in regard to the payment of the troops employed, for I cannot give the least authority for it. I am &ca.¹⁵

[MS.H.S.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Head Quarters, November 5, 1777.

Sir: I have received your Letter of this morning and

15. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

am sorry to find that your orders respecting the Mills have not been carried into execution. it is my desire that the Officer employed in this business should be put under Arrest and tried for disobedience of orders. the parts of the machinery which he has removed may be very easily replaced, whereas had he followed the directions given him, the end in view would have been effectually answered.

Colonel Crawford's party was ordered to join you only for the particular purpose of distressing the Enemy by cutting their Banks; If this Service can be done without them, or is found impracticable altogether, I have no motive for detaining them. I am etc.

Library of Congress

P.S. As the Corps under your Command will probably be an object for the Enemy, you cannot be too vigilant nor guard yourself by too many precautions against surprise; I mention this, in consequence of hints given me of their intentions, and hope therefore it will have its proper effect.¹⁶

To WILLIAM BUCHANAN

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 6, 1777.

Sir: I inclose you an extract of a letter which I have

16. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

just received from Genl. Heath.¹⁹ I can hardly suppose but what you have taken some steps towards laying up a supply of salt provision in New England, which is not only the most plentiful Country for Meat, but the quarter in which our principal Magazenes of Salt are deposited. But I am fearful from Genl. Heath's representation, who is an attentive, careful officer, that the persons you may have employed, are not doing their duty with that alacrity which the importance of the matter requires. I therefore think it incumbent upon me to give you the information I have received that you may lose no time in having the matter thoroughly inquired into, and if proper measures have not been pursued or proper persons appointed, that you may rectify both. I am &ca.²⁰

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 7, 1777.

Sir: From various accounts, I am convinced that the Enemy are upon the point of making a grand effort upon Fort Mifflin, a person in confidence of one of their principal artificers, thinks it will be to day or to morrow. No time is therefore to be lost in making that Garrison

Library of Congress

as respectable as your numbers will admit, for should the attack commence before they are

19. Heath's letter, dated Oct. 25, 1777, from which the extract was taken, is in the *Washington Papers*. It is printed by Sparks in *Letters to Washington*, vol. 2, p. 16.

20. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

reinforced, it may probably be out of your power to throw them in. I think you had for the present better draw all the Continental Troops into or near Forts Mercer and Mifflin, and let what Militia are collected lay without, for I am of opinion that they will rather dismay than assist the Continental Troops, if shut up in the Forts. Acquaint the Commodore that my informant says, there are three floating Batteries and some fire rafts prepared which are to fall down upon his Fleet, at the same time that the Island is attacked, and desire him to keep a look out and make the necessary preparations to receive them. As Fort Mercer²¹ cannot be attacked without considerable previous notice, I would have you spare, as many Men to Fort Mifflin as you possibly can, for if accounts are to be depended upon, that is undoubtedly the post the Enemy have their designs upon. I am very anxious to hear what was the occasion of the heavy firing of musketry on the Evening of the 5th. it seemed to us to be at Fort Mifflin. I am &ca.²²

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL PETER ADAMS²³

Head Quarters, November 7, 1777.

Sir: The approaching season, and the distresses of the army in the Articles of Blankets and Cloathing make it necessary, that every practicable measure should be pursued to procure

21. The draft read as "you" can not be attacked, but Washington crossed out the pronoun and inserted "Fort Mercer".

Library of Congress

22. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

23. Of the Seventh Maryland Regiment. He was lieutenant colonel commandant of the First Maryland Regiment Aug. 1, 1779; transferred to the Third Maryland Regiment in January, 1781; served to April, 1783.

supplies.

Therefore to relieve, if possible, the wants of the Troops, raised by the State of Maryland, in these essential Articles, you are to proceed immediately to Govr. Johnson with the Letters you have in charge for him, and to receive whatever supplies the State may be in a situation to furnish in these instances, and which they may think proper to deliver. You know the circumstances of the Troops and must explain them.

Besides the necessaries you may receive from the State, you will use every possible endeavour to procure further supplies by purchasing from the Inhabitants and Individuals. For which purpose you will receive of the Pay Master General Two thousand Dollars. I have written to the Govr. of this measure, and I am well assured, he will give you every countenance and aid in his power to promote it. The Wants of the Troops are general. But in the Articles of Blankets, Shoes and Stockings, they are peculiarly great. A considerable supply of these must be had, if it is possible; upon a due representation, I trust, the people at large, from motives of generosity and a regard to the service, will make every contribution their Circumstances will admit of and upon reasonable terms.

You will keep a particular account of all the Cloathing you obtain, of the prices paid for them and of every expence incurred in bringing them to Camp. These you will report on your return, with the whole of your proceedings. You will find a List of Necessaries wanted, inclosed by Genl. Smallwood to the Governor.²⁴

Library of Congress

24. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. This same letter, with the necessary changes, was sent to Lieut. Col. Charles Pope, of the Delaware Regiment, on November 8.

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Head Quarters, November 8, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have received your Letter of the 6th Inst. and thank you for the intelligence contained in it, you will farther oblige me by communicating immediately, whatever new matter of public consequence may occur.

The importance of the post at Red Bank, makes it necessary for us to employ all possible resources in rendering it so respectable by the strength of the garrison, and the number of Troops stationed within distance to Cooperate with it, as not to fear even a more formal attack than was exhibited in the first successless efforts of the Hessians. All the men in your State that can be spared, should therefore be collected and marched to join Genl. Varnum.

Your present of Salt Water delicacies, will be the more acceptable to us in Camp, as they are so great a rarity, and, as I anticipate the pleasure they will give, I return you my thanks for them before their arrival. I am &ca.³⁶

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 8, 1777.

Sir: Your favour of the 6th. relieved me from much anxiety,

36. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

Library of Congress

as it was confidently reported that the firing upon the 5th was upon Fort Mifflin. I am pleased to hear of the success of your cannonade against the Shipping, and I am very certain if we had more heavy Cannon mounted upon travelling Carriages to move up and clown the Beach occasionally, that we should annoy and distress them exceedingly. To possess Billingsport, as well as Red Bank, is certainly a most desirable object; but circumstanced as we are at present, in respect to numbers, it is impossible. In a Letter from Genl. Dickinson of the 6th. he informs me, that he had ordered two Detachments of Militia to march from Elizabeth Town to Red Bank, one consisting of 160 Men; he does not mention the number of the other.

I have just seen a very intelligent person from Philadelphia, he has been conversant with many people who stand high in the Confidence of the British Officers of the first Rank. He finds from all their discourse, that a formidable attack is to be made upon Fort Mifflin very soon; if that fails, they will be obliged to change their quarters, as they find they cannot subsist in the City, without they have a free communication with their Shipping. I therefore repeat what I wrote Yesterday, that you should immediately reinforce Fort Mifflin as strongly as possible, and give the Commodore notice of the intended attack. I approve of the measures you have taken to procure Clothing for the Troops. and am etc.

P.S. The inclosed for Commodore Hazelwood, Colo. Green and Lt. Colonel

Smith are from Congress³⁷ and as they bear honorable testimony of their behaviour hitherto, I beg they may be put into their hands immediately. perhaps it may prove a further incentive to their gallant exertions.³⁸

To COLONEL THEODORICK BLAND

Head Quarters, November 8, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have received your favor, mentioning the many and strong reasons you have for quitting the Service, or at least obtaining leave of absence for the settlement

Library of Congress

of your affairs, which you say and I make no doubt are in a Situation that demand your presence. As the Contest, in which we all saw the necessity of stepping forth, still remains undetermined, and the event of War doubtful and uncertain, I conceive, that the same Motives which first called us out, now plead in the most pressing terms for our perseverance to that happy Period, in which our united Efforts shall effect that great design, for the accomplishment of which we were first induced to sacrifice the Happiness of Domestic life.

I believe the private Concerns of every Officer in the Army will suffer in a greater or lesser degree by his Absence, which must have been expected as a matter of course, at their first Acceptance of their Commissions.

As to the Strictness of Honor and integrity with which

37. Congress, by resolve of November 4, presented swords to Green, Smith, and Hazelwood. (See General Orders, Nov. 11, 1777, *post.*)

38. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

you have conducted yourself, (having never heard the least Suggestion to the Contrary) I think it unnecessary to say any thing on that Head.

I have always endeavor'd to give every Indulgence to Officers, which I thought consistent with my duty and the good of the Service; in this Instance I think matters had best be deferred to the close of the Campaign, when your request can in either way be answered with greater propriety and precision. I am etc.³⁹

[N.Y.P.L.]

39. In the writing of John Fitzgerald.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Library of Congress

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 9, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 3d. acquainting me with the exhausted state of your Treasury. I am just in the same situation, but have wrote to Congress for a Supply. I will

in my next to them inform them of your wants, and desire them to forward a sum of money to you.

I have not the large Spy Glass, belonging to Mr. Morris, with me, I think it is at Bethlehem with my Baggage. I will write to the Officer who has the care of the Baggage, and desire him to send the Glass to you.

As Genl. Warner's 42 Brigade of Massachusetts Militia have so small a time to serve I have directed them, if the Express meets them on the Road, to turn back and finish their Service with you. If they should not have marched, you will please to detain them for the Reasons just given. Wind's Brigade of Jersey Militia will scarcely reach home before their times are expired, we therefore cannot count upon them.

As the Reinforcements that have Sailed from New York are so considerable that the Enemy cannot have more force left than is barely Sufficient to keep a Garrison. I desire you will send on all the Continental Troops, except Colo. Samuel Webbs and Sherburne's Regiments and the New York Battalions, these with the Militia, will fully answer your present purposes.

If Genl. Howe is determined to remain in Philadelphia it will require a very large Detachment posted on the West side of Schuylkill to cut him off from a Communication with his Shipping. For want of an addition to our Numbers we have been under the necessity of permitting him to draw large Supplies, indeed his whole Subsistence from his Ships.

Library of Congress

I beg you will press the Reinforcements forward, as I fear those destined for Genl. Howe will arrive before ours.

42. Brig. Gen. Jonathan Warner.

You will take care to make a demand of as many Militia as will be sufficient for your purpose, and I think, you had better do it immediately, that they may be with you by the time the present Class return home. I am etc.⁴³

***To BRIGADIER GENERAL THOMAS CONWAY**

[November 9, 1777.]

Sir: A Letter which I receivd last Night, containd the following paragraph.

In a Letter from Genl. Conway to Genl. Gates he says: "Heaven has been determind to save your Country; or a weak General and bad Councillors would have mind it."

I am Sir Yr. Hble Servt.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JONATHAN WARNER

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 9, 1777.

Sir: As the term of Service of the Brigade of Massachusetts Militia under your command will expire with this

43. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

month, it is not worth your while to march this distance to do a few days duty. I therefore desire you will return to Genl. Putnam and employ your Men, during their stay, in such

Library of Congress

manner as he shall direct. I imagine this must be more agreeable to them than coming so far from home at this season of the Year. I am etc.⁴⁴

To THE CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 9, 1777.

Gentlemen: I yesterday received a Letter from Congress informing me that they had received a Report from your Board with your opinion⁴⁵ upon the most probable means of securing the Frigates. Whereupon they came to the following Resolution on the 4th. instant:

Ordered that a Copy of the said report be sent to Genl. Washington for his approbation and if he approve the same that a Detachment of troops be sent to assist in the Construction and management of the Batteries aforesaid.

Upon the receipt of this I took the opinion of the General Officers who unanimously agreed that, as we had not any men to spare to construct and defend the Works recommended by you, there were no other possible means of effectually securing

44. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

45. At this point in the draft the following is crossed off: "that it would be better to lighten the Frigates and float them up the River, and by taking their Guns on shore"

the Frigates but by scutling them. You will therefore be pleased to have it done in such manner as will render the weighing of them most easy in future and in such depth of Water as will secure them from being damaged by the floating Ice in the Winter. All the other Vessels capable of being converted into Armed Ships should be scutled also. This should be done as speedily as possible and as secretly, for should the Enemy get notice of your intentions, I should not at all wonder at their sending up a force purposely to destroy them

Library of Congress

or bring them down. You will dispose of the men that were on Board of them as directed in my former. I am &ca.46

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 10, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am pleased to find by yours of the 8th., that proper dispositions were formed for the reception of the Enemy at Forts Mercer and Mifflin, and that the Garrisons were so full of confidence, we already hear a firing which we suppose a prelude to something more serious. I sincerely wish you success; but let the event be fortunate or otherwise, pray let me have the speediest intelligence. I am etc.

P.S. Your Detachments are on their march from Fishkill to join you.52

46. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

52. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 11, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have your favour of the 7th. and am glad to find that you had determined to detain Warner's Militia. At whatever place Govr. Clinton and yourself determine to throw obstructions and Batteries upon the River, I imagine it will prove satisfactory, for no person is supposed to have a better knowledge of that Country than the Governor.

For the very same Reasons that Genl. Howe is reinforcing himself strongly, ought we to reinforce also, and I therefore beg that you will comply with my request of the 9th. instr. which is nearly the same of Colo. Hamilton's, namely to send all the Continentals except Colo. Samuel Webbs and Sherburne's and the New York Battalions, and I intreat they may

Library of Congress

be forwarded as quick as possible, for should Genl. Howes reinforcement arrive before them, consider what a situation this Army will be in.

It is very evident that the Enemy, in order to secure their remaining Army under Genl. Howe, are drawing every Man from New York, to what purpose then would it be to keep a force up the North River when there is no Enemy near, for we have certain accounts of the fleets having left the Hook. I know the people are apt to be alarmed and to think themselves deserted when they see troops drawn away from them, but I am confident they will soon find the good effects of it.

I am extremely sorry to hear of the uneasiness that has happened in Genl. Poor's Brigade on account of their pay, and am amazed to hear that they have ten months due to them. This is indeed a very great hardship, and there must be a fault some where, but I hope from the prudent measures you have taken, they will be contented. I have wrote to Congress in the most pressing manner for money for your Department, and I have no doubt but you will be soon supplied. I am etc.⁶⁰

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 11, 1777.

Dear Sir: Since I wrote to you this morning Mr. Young Deputy Clothier has arrived from Peekskill and informs me that you stopped 400 of the Blankets and one Cask of Shoes that were coming on for the use of this Army. You cannot conceive how these stoppages by the way disappoint and disarrange our plans; The Clothier General endeavours to give each their share, but by such proceedings those that are farthest off go naked. There are now in this Army, by a late return four thousand Men wanting Blankets, [near 2,000 of wch. have never had one, although some of them have been twelve months in Service.]

60. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Library of Congress

I would not wish to be partial to any part of the Army. I only desire that when Goods are ordered particularly to one Department, that they may not be detained in another, and I must insist that this Rule be invariably observed in future. [You are to consider that almost the whole of our Cloathing comes from the Eastward, consequently the stopping such parts as are intended for this Army, after a due proportion is allotted to the other Departments, is highly injurious to the Service; with truth it may be added that we have at this time upwards of 2,000 Men renderd unfit for Service for want of Cloathes.] I am etc.

P.S. The fleet that sailed from the Hook has arrived in the Delaware.⁶¹

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 11, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your favours of 9th. and 10th. Instant I have duly received, and I think we may reasonably hope, that from the good disposition of the Troops in your Quarter, and the zeal and activity of the Officers and men, joined to the present very advanced and cold Season, which must greatly retard, if not prevent the operations of the Enemy; Matters may terminate with you agreeable to our Expectations, this must have the greatest influence upon the conduct of Genl. Howe and force him to adopt disadvantageous or disgraceful measures.

61. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The parts in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

Genl. Knox informs me, that he has sent down a person to get an exact return of the Ammunition which you now have, and of what may be wanted, and that he has sent down 17 Waggon loaded with Ball, which you will receive about this time. A Waggon with 20,000 Musket Cartridges will be immediately dispatched, to be delivered to the Militia (if you see fit) by your order only. It is greatly to be wished that all firing could be prevented,

Library of Congress

except where there is a real necessity and the distance such as might promise a good effect.

I have wrote to Genl. Potter, ordering him to take every step by which he can assist you and distress the Enemy on Province Island. he may alarm them and draw off their attention from Fort Mifflin if nothing more. You are acquainted with the reasons why a greater force is not sent to annoy them in that quarter. I am &ca.62

To EPHRAIM BLAINE

Head Quarters, November 11, 1777.

Sirs: This is to signify to you my express order that no time be lost in writing to the Commissary's Department in New England and procuring from thence the Wine and 62. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

Spirits wanted for the use of this Army. I have received a Letter from Genl. Putnam in which he mentions that he is doing all in his power to send forward Provisions according to my direction. I am &ca.63

To JAMES MEASE64

Head Quarters, Whitmarsh, November 12, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 4th. inclosing returns of the Clothing that has been delivered and what you are now sending on to Camp. If I understand you, it is all that you have on hand made or unmade. If this is so, our prospects are Melancholy indeed, except considerable quantities are expected from abroad, or are on some other part of the Continent. Of these I shall be glad to be informed by the first opportunity. Mr. Young informs me, that he saw all the Blankets and Shoes that are coming from the Eastward (except 400 Blankets and 1 Cask of Shoes stopped by Genl. Putnam) over the North

Library of Congress

River, there is therefore no occasion to send an Officer for them. I have wrote to Genl. Putnam upon this constant practice of stopping part of the Clothing at Peekskill that is intended for this Army, and I hope he will not do it in future.

I can easily account for the nine old Virginia Regiments calling more frequently upon you for Clothing than

63. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

64. Clothier General of the Continental Army.

any others, they were the whole winter in the Field and were reduced almost to nakedness.

Genl. Woodford complains, that he lately wrote you a polite letter requesting necessaries for his Brigade, which he sent by an Officer, to which he says you only returned him a rough verbal answer, without complying with his demand even in part. As General Woodford is an exceeding good Officer and one who I think would not make extravagant or unnecessary demands, I could wish you would clear up this matter to his satisfaction.

From the success which many Officers and others who I have sent out have had, I am convinced that there are large quantities of Shoes, leather Breeches and other Articles of Clothing in the hands of the makers or people who have bought them up to make a market by monopolizing them, these I have taken wherever they were to be found. I must therefore intreat you Sir to employ people in the same business, and where they find Goods suitable for the Army, if the owners will not part with them, I will engage, by the powers vested in me by Congress, to compell them.

I know not upon what terms the Commissary of Hides has disposed of all that have gone thro' his hands ? But I should suppose in many instances to return wrought leather for

Library of Congress

them. This should be inquired into, and when the leather is obtained, proper steps should be taken to have it worked up. I am certain that the Hides of the Cattle that

are consumed by the Army were returned in leather, they would much more than shoe the soldiers.

In short, it lays with you to set every Engine at work to procure such articles of Clothing as are of our own produce, and to have Agents ready to purchase all that is imported. The Members of the secret Committee must take care to engage what can be imported from abroad. I have wrote to Congress and urged to them the necessity of calling upon each state to collect what Clothing can be obtained among themselves. But I think it highly necessary that you should repair to York Town and press them to delay no time in carrying a matter of this kind into execution, and you may with truth assure them, that unless some mode of this sort is adopted, or they have a certainty of Clothing from abroad, that it will be impossible for the Army to exist. I am &ca.65

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, 1 OClock P.M., November 12, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am sorry to find from yours of Yesterday, that the fire of the Enemy had made so great an impression upon the Works of Fort Mifflin, that you thought an evacuation would be necessary. As I have not yet heard that the measure was

65. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

determined upon, I hope it is not carried into execution. If it is not, it is the unanimous opinion of a Council of General Officers now setting,⁶⁶ that the Fort be held to the last extremity, and to enable the commanding Officer to do this, that you immediately withdraw all the invalids and fatigued Men and fill up their places with the most fresh and robust, and that the troops in Garrison be often exchanged that they may by that mean obtain rest. It

Library of Congress

seems a settled point, that the Enemy will not Storm, while the Works are kept in tolerable repair and there is an appearance of force upon the Island, and I therefore would have you endeavour to prevail upon the Militia to go over at night, when there is a cessation of firing and work till day light. You may give them the most positive assurances that it is not meant to keep them there against their consent. This would greatly relieve the Continental Troops, and by these means a great deal of work might be done. We are now thinking if there is any possibility of attacking the Enemy in reverse and thereby raising the Seige, if it can be done with any probability of success. Therefore endeavour to hold the Island till the practicability of that measure at least is determined upon. Spare palisadoes and a number of Fascines should be cut and a constant supply sent over to the Island. I am etc.⁶⁷

66. No record of this council of war is found in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress. It is possible that the council of November 8 continued to sit daily. (See Council of War, Nov. 8, 1777, *ante*).

67. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, 5 O'Clock P.M., November 12, 1777.

Dear Sir: Since I wrote to you at one OClock this day Yours dated twelve last Night came to hand. This has occasioned an alteration in the sentiments of myself and the council who find it impossible, from your representation, to give timely relief to the Fort. We therefore are now of opinion, that the Cannon and Stores ought immediately to be removed and every thing put into a disposition to remove totally at a minute's warning; but as every day that we can hold even the Island, is so much time gained, I would recommend a party to be left, who might find good Shelter behind the ruined Works, and when they abandon, they should set fire to the Barracks and all remaining buildings. If this was done upon a flood tide, the Enemy could not come out of Schuylkill with Boats to put the fire out, or to intercept the passage of the Garrison. If what works remain could be blown up, or

Library of Congress

otherways effectually destroyed before evacuation, it would take the Enemy so much more time and labour to make a lodgment upon the Island.

Be pleased to communicate this to Colo. Smith and let him know I received his of Yesterday. I hope his wound is not dangerous. I am &ca.69

69. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

November 12, 1777.

Sir: I last night received your favour of the 10th. instt. and am sorry to find the Enemy's Batteries had played with such success against our Works. Nevertheless, I hope they will not oblige you to evacuate them. They are of the last importance, and I trust will be maintained till the latest extremity. I have written to Genl. Varnum to afford you immediate succour by sending fresh Troops to releive those now in Garrison, and also such numbers of Militia, as he may be able to prevail on to go to your assistance. With these, every exertion should be used for repairing in the night whatever damage the Works may sustain in the day. The Militia are principally designed for this end, and they are to be permitted to return every morning to Red Bank, if such shall be their choice. Genl. Varnum will furnish all the Fascines and palisadoes he can. You may rest assured, I will adopt every means our situation will admit of to give you relief. I am &ca.68

68. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD

Head Quarters, November 12, 1777.

Gentlemen: I have your favr. of the 10th and am only sorry that I did not sooner know my request of Sinking the Frigates had been complied with. The delay of the Resolve of

Library of Congress

Congress from the time you first applied for their advice, was what led me into a Mistake, and I am obliged to you for the genteel manner in which you excuse me. I am perfectly satisfied with the Measures which you have taken, to secure the Shipping and desire when you have no further occasion for the men that they may be disposed of as directed in my former Letters. I am etc.⁷⁰

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, November 13, 1777.

Dear Sir: In my Letter of the 5th. in answer to yours of the 22d. Ult^o. I mentioned, that it was not our interest to expedite the passage of the prisoners to England. Upon a review of the matter, I am more and more convinced of the propriety of the observation.

⁷⁰. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

The most scrupulous adherence on the part of the Enemy to the Convention of Saratoga, will justify their placing the prisoners in Garrisons, as soon as they arrive in Britain, and will enable the Ministry to send out an equal Number of Troops to reinforce Genl. Howe, or upon any other service against these States. This being the case, policy and a regard to our own Interest, are strongly opposed to our adopting or pursuing any measures to facilitate their embarkation and passage Home, which are not required of us by the Capitulation. If by our exertions these ends are promoted, our generosity will be rewarded, in the arrival of as large a Force, by the end of March or early in April, for the purposes suggested above. These considerations lead me to observe, that it is highly probable, Genl. Burgoyne will apply to you or perhaps to the Council of the State, to dispense with the Articles of Convention, so far as they respect the port for their embarkation, and to change it from Boston to some place in Rhode Island or in the Sound. I know he has received a hint upon the Subject from Genl. Howe. Should such a requisition be made, it ought not to be complied with upon any principles whatever. It cannot be asked as a matter of right, because by the Articles Boston is assigned as the port. It can not be

Library of Congress

granted as a matter of Favor, because the indulgence will be attended with most obvious and capital disadvantages to us. Besides the delay which will necessarily arise from

confining them to Boston, as the place of departure, their Transports in a voyage round at this Season may probably suffer considerable injury and many of them may be blown as far as the West Indies. These considerations and others needless to be added have struck me in so important a point of view, that I have thought it expedient to write you by Express. Captn. Vallancy⁷⁵ who came with Genl. Burgoyne's dispatches, left this on his return Yesterday morning, and I make no doubt, in a little time after his arrival, Genl. Burgoyne will request the port of embarkation to be altered. Independent of the impolicy of granting the requisition, It appears to me, that none have authority to do it but Congress themselves. I am etc.⁷⁶

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 13, 1777.

Sir: I wrote you two Letters yesterday, the first contained positive orders to maintain the Fort on Mud Island at all events; the second, in consequence of subsequent advices from you, gave discretionary powers to evacuate the post, and a Copy of it was sent to guard against miscarriage. I refer you to its contents and repeat that

75. Capt. George Preston Vallancy, of the Sixty-second Foot and assistant quartermaster general, convention troops, British Army.

76. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, also in the writing of Harrison, is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. The differences are inconsequential.

I would have a show of defence kept up, as long as possible, by such a number of Men as you shall judge necessary; the importance of delaying the farther progress of the Enemy

Library of Congress

and preventing their making a lodgement on the Island, is too obvious to need my insisting upon it. In addition to the perseverance of the Garrison, I think an Enterprise of a more active nature might be carried into execution in concert with a Detachment from the Fleet, I mean a descent upon Province Island for the purpose of spiking the Enemy's Cannon and levelling their Batteries, which would considerably embarrass the Enemy and gain us a great deal of time; this is proposed however, only by way of consulting you upon the subject, you will be best able being on the spot, to judge of the practicability of such a Scheme. Volunteers and picked Men would be most likely to do this Service effectually, and as a stimulus to their courage and exertions, I promise ample Rewards in case of success. I would have Fort Mercer strengthened, as much as circumstances will allow, it may be put in such a condition as to require a greater Sacrifice than the Enemy can afford to make in attempting it. I am &ca.

P.S. present my Compliments to Colo. Smith; the contents of his Letter are fully answered by this to you.⁷⁷

77. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

White Marsh, November 14, 1777.

Sir: I have reason to beleive, that on the return of Captn. Vallancy, who is now on his way to Boston, Genl. Burgoyne will apply to have the place assigned for the embarkation of the prisoners, changed from Boston to Rhode Island or some part of the Sound. I know Genl. Howe has suggested to him an Idea of the sort. I cannot say to whom his application may be. But for the most striking and obvious reasons it should not be complied with. As a matter of right, it cannot be demanded, because Boston is the post assigned by the convention for their departure. As a matter of favor, it cannot be granted, because the indulgence would operate greatly to our prejudice. If they should be allowed to embark at either of the places suggested by Mr. Howe, it will be but a short time before they arrive

Library of Congress

in Britain, when they will immediately be sent into Garrisons and the Troops now there instantly ordered to join him; or upon some other service against the States.⁸⁶ But if they are confined to Boston, it is more than probable, that some months will elapse before they can depart. You know the difficulties of a Coasting voyage at this season and that their Transports in going round may suffer greatly and perhaps may be blown as far as the West Indies. I have written to Genl. Heath upon the Subject lest he might on a sudden application consent to the measure. I am persuaded

86. "I have never entertained the smallest Idea, that General Burgoyne should be permitted to Change the port of Embarkation, or that the least Variation of the Spirit. and Letter of the Convention, would be indulged to the Troops under his Command. There is no doubt, but the British Regiments upon their Arrival in England, will be Ordered to do Duty there, but The Germans cannot, by the Laws serve in Great Britain, or Ireland. If General Burgoyne has any Sinister design, what I suggested to Congress, in my Letter of the 10th Instant, a Copy of which I conclude your Excellency has received, will be a good Method of delaying, if not finally preventing the Execution of his project."— *Gates to Washington*, Nov. 23, 1777. Gates's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

In his letter to Congress (November 10) Gates justified his stupid terms to Burgoyne on the absurd grounds that there would be very few British soldiers to embark, as a great many of them had deserted on their march to Boston and that many more would do so; but this was a situation Gates could not possibly have thought of when he signed the convention. Gates advised Congress that it would be justifiable to delay embarking the convention troops "should Sir William Howe still Obstinately refuse to settle an equitable Cartel, for the Exchange of Prisoners." This letter is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

the impropriety would strike you at once in case of a requisition, but I thought it expedient nevertheless to apprise you of the probability of such being made. Besides the advantages I have pointed out from their being delayed, there are many more, needless for me to add. I am etc.⁸⁷

[N.Y.H.S.]

To COLONEL DAVID MASON

Head Quarters, at White Marsh, November 14, 1777.

Sir: The Congress having been pleased to refer the proceedings and Sentence of a Court Martial against John Moore,⁸⁸ to my determination, I have thought proper to remit the punishment decreed against him. You will therefore order him to be released from Confinement and to join his Regiment or some Recruits coming to join the same. I have inclosed his pardon. I am etc.⁸⁹

To ROBERT ERSKINE⁹⁰

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 14, 1777.

Sir: I shall be glad to know, by return of the Bearer,

87. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

88. John More (Moore), a deserter from the Fourth Virginia Regiment.

89. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

90. Geographer and Surveyor General of the Continental Army.

whether the portable ovens⁹¹ bespoke last Summer are finished. If they are, you may send them down to the Army if you can procure Waggon; if you cannot, let me know and I will order the Qt. Mr. General to send for them.

Be pleased to let me know when you think you will be able to enter upon any of the duties of the Office which I spoke to you about last Summer.⁹² I am, etc.⁹³

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 15, 1777.

Sir: I have received your Letter of Yesterday inclosing the opinion of Major Thayer⁹⁹ the present Commandant at Fort Mifflin, respecting the defence of that post, and am happy to find that he and Major Fleury coincide in their Sentiments as to the practicability of maintaining it, in spite of the Enemys Land and Floating Batteries. Their perseverance however, may expose them to falling a Sacrifice in case of an attack by storm, unless the necessary materials be furnished them from your side of the River, for repairing the daily destruction caused by the Enemys Cannon; there should be a never failing supply of Fascines and Palisadoes, large Gabions will be useful, and a quantity of earth loaded in bulk on board of Flats,

91. Bake ovens, which were made of sheet iron.

92. Erskine answered this letter on November 24, stating that 24 ovens had been delivered to Thomas Mifflin at Pompton and Morristown, and that 4 were sent to New Windsor, N. Y. He reported that he was busy surveying in the Highlands for Governor Clinton and would be ready to take up his duties as surveyor general in April. Erskine's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

93. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

99. Maj. Simeon Thayer, of the Second Rhode Island Regiment. He lost an eye at Monmouth, N. J., in June, 1778, and retired in May, 1781. Lieut, Col. Samuel Smith, who had been in command at Fort Mifflin, had been wounded in the arm and had gone to Woodbury, N. J., to convalesce.

will be very serviceable in correcting the oozy nature of the Soil on which they are obliged to work, they are likewise in want of Ammunition for their 32 pounder, for which they have

Library of Congress

been obliged to use the Cartridges of their Eighteen pounders. A stock of fire wood, an indispensable Article at this Season of the year, should be laid in at every convenient opportunity, so that they may not be deficient in it, in case of the Communication between them and the main being interrupted by high wind or bad weather. One or two of their Gun Carriages are dismantled, which will require the presence of such Artificers as you can spare. Mr. Fleury seems desirous of retaining the Cannon on the Island, I cannot at this distance decide as to the propriety of suffering them to remain, which must depend intirely upon the State of the works, and the prospect of reestablishing some essential parts of them. Your visit to the Island will enable you to speak decisively upon this and other matters of importance.

Genl. Greene, in a Letter received from him this morning, informs me that the Enemy are attempting to get a Frigate thro the Channel between Hog Island and Province Island, this passage may be rendered impassable for Vessels of a respectable size, by sinking a hulk there, or throwing some other obstruction in the way; it will be proper therefore, that you should have a conference with the Commodore upon this subject immediately and consult with him upon the best means for frustrating the Enemy's designs.

With respect to the enterprise upon Province Island,

which I recommended in my last, I must observe, that tho' my expressions gave it a great Latitude and that I proposed the ruin of the Enemy's Works as part of the End in view, yet I should be content, if nothing more could be effected, to have the cannon of those works or any part of them spiked, a resolute body of Volunteers and chosen men, I still think might be employed with success in this undertaking, and tho the time gained by us and the Embarrassment occasioned the Enemy, would not be so considerable as in the other case, Yet it appears to me worth the attempt, especially as by the means of surprise, the Service might be done before the party could be opposed in force, and at all events their retreat is easy.

Library of Congress

Genl. Greene, in his Letter, calls the Channel in question the *New Channel*; [you will be best able to determine which he means. I am in doubt whether it be that between Province Island and Hog Island, or that between the little Island opposite red-bank, and the main.] I am &ca.1

To BRIGADIER GENERAL THOMAS CONWAY

Head Quarters at White Marsh, November 16, 1777.

Sir: In answer to your favour of this date: It remains with Congress alone to accept your Resignation. This being the case, I cannot permit you to leave the Army, till you have obtained their consent. When that is done, I shall not object to your

1. The letter sent, which is in the writing of John Laurens, adds the words between the brackets, which do not appear in the draft.

departure, since it is your inclination. I thank you much for your wishes for the liberty of America, and the success of our Arms, and have only to add, that in case you are permitted to return by Congress, you will have my hopes for a favourable passage and a happy meeting with your Family and friends.2 I am etc.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Head Quarters, November 16, 1777.

Sir: I desire you will immediately set all your people at work to making Fascines, let them be about eight feet in length, about two feet in circumference, tight bound and composed of small wood. I am &ca.3

To MAJOR GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR AND BARON DE KALB AND BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY KNOX

Library of Congress

Head Quarters, November 17, 1777.

Gentlemen: You are to proceed with all convenient expedition

2. Conway informed Washington that a longer stay in America would endanger his rank and hopes of promotion in France, adding: "Although I Leave the continent, I shall ever cherish the cause for which I fought, and, if the plan I Sent to Congress is accepted. I hope I will serve the cause more effectually in another part of the World." What this plan was does not appear from the records, Indorsed on Conway's letter is a note by Robert Hanson Harrison granting Conway the leave of absence of 10 or 12 days, which he requested. Conway's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Conway had sent in his resignation to Congress on November 14. His letter, which was addressed to Charles Carroll, but intended for Congress, was read on November 24 and bears the significant indorsement: "General Conway to be requested to attend the Board." He was appointed major general and Inspector General of the Continental Army by a resolve of Congress of Dec. 13, 1777. He finally resigned in a letter to Congress dated Apr. 22, 1778, and the resignation was accepted on April 28.

3. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

to Fort Mercer, where, by conferring with Brigadier General Varnum, Commodore Hazlewood and such other Officers as you may think proper to consult, and from your own view of the Ground and River you will investigate the following Points.

1. The Practicability of hindering the Enemy from clearing the main Channel of the Chevaux de frize which now obstruct it, without having possession of Mud Island.

2. What farther aid would be required from this Army to effect the purpose above mentioned, supposing it practicable, and how should such aid be disposed.

Library of Congress

3. Whether our Fleet will be able to keep the River, in case the Enemy make a lodgement, and establish Batteries on Mud Island.
4. Supposing the Fleet necessitated to retire, whether the Land force could maintain its present Position independently of it.
5. Whether it be practicable to take or drive away the Enemy's Floating Battery, and if either can be done, whether an obstruction may not be laid in the Channel through which she passed, so as to prevent the passage of any Vessel in future.
6. If the Fleet should be obliged to retire and Fort Mercer be invested by the Enemy, by what means could the Garrison be drawn off, or reinforced if either should be judged necessary.

You will be particular in making my acknowledgments to those Officers and Men who have distinguished themselves in the defence of the Fort, and assure them that I have a high sense of their gallant conduct.

This is by no means to be understood, Gentlemen, as restraining you to the examination only of the particular points enumerated, which are intended as a memorandum, but you will in conjunction with the Commanding Officers on the spot, make every such arrangement and alteration as shall appear essential. I am etc.⁷

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, 10 O'Clock P.M., November 18, 1777.

Dear Sir: A Body of the Enemy marched last Night from Philadelphia across the Bridge at the Middle Ferry and proceeded to Chester. Their number is variously reported, being from 1500 to 3,000, but I imagine the former is most likely, altho' some people, from the City, think their numbers are much lessened upon their lines. They this day embarked their

Library of Congress

Horses from Chester on Board Ships and Brigs. This would seem as if they were going away, but in my opinion it is only a feint, and that they intend to cross over to Jersey and pay you a visit. Therefore keep a good look out below, if you do this they cannot surprize you, because they must make a tedious debarkation of their Horses. To all matters contained in yours of yesterday I refer you to the Generals St. Clair, Knox and Kalb, who went down to consult with you and the

7. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens. (See Washington's letter to Brig. Gen. James Mitchell Varnum, Nov. 19, 1777, *post.*)

Commodore. I expect a report from them to govern me in my operations, towards assisting you. If you could get some Countryman to go into Billingsport with a small supply of provisions, he might learn something of their intentions and numbers. I am etc.⁸

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 19, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 14th. I could have wished that the Regiments that I had ordered had come on because I do not like Brigades to be broke by Detachment. The urgency of Colonel Hamilton's Letter was owing to his knowledge of our wants in this Quarter, and to a certainty that there was no danger to be apprehended from New York, if you sent away all the Continental Troops that were then with you and waited to replace them by those expected down the River. I cannot but say that there has been more delay in the march of the Troops than I think necessary and I could wish that in future my orders may be immediately complied with, without arguing upon the propriety of them; if any accident ensues from obeying them, the fault will lie upon me and not upon you.

I have yet heard nothing of Poor's or Paterson's Brigades or of Colo. Charles Webb's Regiment. Learned's Brigade will be at Coryells

8. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

ferry to night or to morrow, and Lee's and Jackson's Regiments arrived here this day.

Be pleased to inform me particularly of the Corps that have marched and are to march and by what Routes they are directed, that I may know how to dispatch orders to meet them upon the Road if necessary. I am &ca.17

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN GLOVER, OR OFFICER COMMANDING HIS BRIGADE

Head Quarters, 11 O'Clock P.M., November 19, 1777.

Sir: The Enemy having thrown a considerable part of their force over Delaware, with an intention, as I suppose, of making an attack upon our Fort at Red Bank, Occasions me to reinforce the Garrison and Troops already there, with a large detachment from this Army, in addition to which it is my desire and you are hereby ordered to March by the most convenient Route after receipt of this to join the Continental Army, which may be in the Neighbourhood of Red Bank under command of Major Genl. Greene or any other Officer there commanding, and take his directions with respect to your conduct at that Post. You will take the necessary precaution for the subsistence of your Troops on their march to this place by Detaching Commissaries &ca. to

17. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

provide for them. Your first Route should be directed to Haddonfield and from thence as circumstances will require. I am &ca.18

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING EITHER POOR'S OR PATERSON'S BRIGADE

Head Quarters, November 19, 1777.

Library of Congress

Sir: Instead of proceeding to Coryell's Ferry, which I imagine is your intended Route, I desire you will march down, as far as Trenton, and there wait my orders before you cross the River. The moment you receive this, dispatch an Officer to me, to inform me where you are, when you will be at Trenton, and by what Road you will march that I may send orders to meet you. I am etc.

P.S. If this should reach you between Flemington and Coryells Ferry, You are not to march towards Trenton, but cross at Coryell's as first intended.¹⁹

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 19, 1777.

Dear Sir: In consequences of advices received since I wrote you last night, I have ordered Genl. Huntington to march to your

18. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

19. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

assistance. You will please to direct the detachment that went first down to Fort Mifflin under the command of Colo. Smith, to return to Camp, they are in so much want of necessaries that it is impossible for them to remain longer. Let the Militia that are with you be put in the best order that they can be, I wish they had a good Officer at their Head to arrange them properly. I am &ca.

P.S. It would not be amiss to collect all the Militia you can in the Country adjacent.²⁰

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 19, 1777.

Library of Congress

Dear Sir: The Generals St. Clair, Knox and Kalb returned to Camp this Evening, they are all clear in their opinions that keeping possession of the Jersey Shore at or near Red Bank is of the last importance. I have therefore determined to make such an addition to the Reinforcement that marched this morning under Genl. Huntington, that I am in hopes you will be able to give an effectual check to the force which the Enemy at present have in Jersey. Genl. Greene will take the command of the Reinforcement. Very much will depend upon keeping possession of Fort Mercer, as to reduce it, the Enemy will be obliged to put themselves in a very disagreeable situation

20. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

to them and advantageous to us, upon a narrow neck of land between two Creeks, with our whole force pressing upon their Rear. Therefore desire Colo. Green to hold it if possible till the relief arrives. All superfluous Stores may be removed if it can be done after this reaches you; that in Case of Accident, as little may fall into the hands of the Enemy as possible. While he holds the fort, it will be necessary for some of the Gallies to lay close under the Bank, to keep the Enemy from making any lodgment under it, and it will also secure your Communication with the Water, which perhaps may be essential, for I do not remember whether there is a Well in the Works. There can be no danger to the Gallies, while we keep the Bank above them, and if we evacuate, if they cannot get off, they may destroy them and put the Men on Shore. I have recommended this, upon a supposition that they will be very serviceable to you, if you do not think they will, you need not keep them.

Altho' I am anxious to have the fort kept, I do not mean that it should be done at all events, so as to endanger the safety of the men without any probability of success. I am &ca.21

To COLONEL JOHN BAILEY²²

Head Quarters, Whitmarsh, November 19, 1777.

Library of Congress

Sir: I received yours dated Hardwick the 16th. I have only to desire you to march forward, with all expedition and join me at

21. The draft is in the writing of Teach Tilghman.

22. Of the Second Massachusetts Regiment, then commanding Brig. Gen. Ebenezer Learned's brigade.

this place. If you have not left an Officer on whom you can depend to bring on the men left at Goshen, as soon as they are fit for Service, I desire you will send such an one back for that purpose. I am &ca.23

To COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD

Head Quarters, November 19, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of 15th. Instant, covering the Resolution of a Council of War²⁴ held the preceding day upon the Subject of my Letter of the 13th.

The General Officers who have been sent from here to Examine into and determine upon the Measures to be adopted in that quarter, have, I expect, by this time put things in such a Train, as will be most conducive to the public Interest, and agreeable to the Officers concerned. Should any matter be left undetermined by them, I shall be able from their report to form my opinion thereon and shall immediately communicate it to you; in the mean time I have no doubt but you will afford every assistance in your power to repel any attempt which may be made to clear the Channel or reduce the Fort. Inclosed you have a Letter from Presidt. Wharton²⁵ which he requested might be forwarded to you. I am &ca.26

23. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

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24. The council held (November 14) on the Chatham galley decided "That on our Forces keeping possession of the Jerseys, depends altogether the preservation of our Fleet and consequently every expectation to be formed from its Manœuvres in the future." The council thought that if the Jerseys could be held the galleys could find a safe retreat in Timber Creek, from whence they could harass the enemy. The report of the council of war is in the *Washington Papers*.

25. President Thomas Wharton, of Pennsylvania.

26. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ENOCH POOR

Head Quarters, November 20, 1777.

Sir: Upon receipt of this you are to direct your march towards this Army, and to be as expeditious as possible in forming a junction.

If in consequence of yesterday's orders you should have filed off towards Trenton, continue that Route and give me notice of it by a Messenger, he will probably find me at the Crooked Billet. I am &ca.³¹

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN PATERSON

Head Quarters, November 20, 1777.

Sir: I yesterday wrote you a Letter with conditional directions relative to your march. Upon receipt of this, you will proceed by the way of Coryells Ferry and join this army, as expeditiously as possible.

Library of Congress

If in consequence of the order given yesterday you should have filed off towards Trenton, you may continue that Route, but in that case you will dispatch a Messenger to give me notice of it, I shall probably be found at the Crooked Billet. I am etc.³¹

31. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

To COLONEL EPHRAIM BLAINE

Head Quarters at White Marsh, November 21, 1777.

Whereas large supplies of Wheat and Flour are wanted for the use of the Army under my command, You are to repair immediately to the State of Jersey and to use every prudent possible exertion to procure such quantities, as may be necessary for the purpose above mentioned, offering and paying for the same a just and generous price.

It is hoped and expected, that you will find no difficulty in the execution of this business. However, if there should be any holders of these Articles, who from base and sordid principles, demand an exorbitant and unwarrantable price for the same, you are authorized, in case you cannot agree, to take them, giving Certificates for the Quantities you receive, to be paid for, agreeable to the prices and regulations that may be fixed on by the Assembly of the said State.³²

To FRANCIS HOPKINSON

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 21, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 14th. inclosing a letter for the Revd. Mr. Duché.³³ I will endeavour to forward it to him, but

32. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

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33. Hopkinson's letter to Duché, who was his brother-in-law, is dated November 14 and is printed, in part, in *Life and Works of Hopkinson*, by George E. Hastings (Chicago, 1926): "Words cannot express the Grief and Consternation that wounded my Soul at the sight of this fatal Performance.... I could go thro' this extraordinary Letter and point out to you the Truth distorted in every leading Part; But the World will doubtless do this with a Severity that must be Daggers to the Sensibilities of your Heart. Read that Letter over again: and, if possible, divest yourself of the Fears and Influences, whatever they were, that induced you to pen it ... you have by a vain and weak Effort attempted the Integrity of one whose Virtue is impregnable to the Assaults of Fear or Flattery; whose Judgment needed not your Information and who, I am sure, would have resigned his Charge the Moment he found it likely to lead him out of the Paths of Virtue and Honour.... And with whom would you have him negotiate. Are they not those who, without the Sanction of any civil, moral or religious Right, have come 3000 Miles to destroy our Peace and Property: to lay waste to *your* native Country with Fire and Sword and cruelly murther its Inhabitants. Look for their Justice and Honour, in the Gaols of New York and Philada. and in your own Potter's Field. ..."

I imagine it will never be permitted to reach his hands.

I confess to you, that I was not more surprised than concerned at receiving so extraordinary a Letter from Mr. Duché, of whom I had entertained the most favourable opinion, and I am still willing to suppose, that it was rather dictated by his fears than by his real sentiments; but I very much doubt whether the great numbers of respectable Characters, in the State and Army, on whom he has bestowed the most unprovoked and unmerited abuse will ever attribute it to the same Cause, or forgive the Man who has artfully endeavoured to engage me to Sacrifice them to purchase my own safety.

I never intended to have made the letter more public than by laying it before Congress. I thought this a duty which I owed to myself, for had any accident have happened to the Army intrusted to my command, and it had ever afterwards have appeared that such

Library of Congress

a letter had been wrote to and received by me, might it not have been said that I had betrayed my Country? and would not such a correspondence, if kept a secret, have given good Grounds for the suspicion?

I thank you for the favourable sentiments which you are pleased to express of me, and I hope no act of mine will ever induce you to alter them. I am etc.³⁴

34. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. (See Washington's letter to Francis Hopkinson, Jan. 27, 1778, *post.*)

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of Yesterday afternoon from Burlington. As you have crossed the River, an attack upon the Enemy's Detachment, if it can be made with success, would be a most desirable object. But I must leave the propriety of it entirely to your own judgment. I have heard nothing more of Glover's Brigade than that they were advancing down the Road from Morris Town, I sent an Express to meet them, and to turn them down towards you, but I think you had better dispatch one of your family or an Officer to guide them to you. There are not more than one hundred and Seventy of Morgan's Corps fit to march, as they in general want Shoes, they went Yesterday and will join you I suppose this day. Capt'n. Lee's Troop are not yet come from the other side of Schuylkill, but they are expected every instant, and will be sent immediately over to you. If you can procure any account that you think may be depended upon, of the Number that the Enemy detached from Philadelphia, I beg you will send it to me. Or if they send any part of their force back, let me know it instantly. I shall be anxious to hear of every movement of you or the Enemy and I therefore wish to have the most constant advices. I am etc.

P.S. I shall order an Express to be stationed at Bristol to bring on your dispatches.³⁹

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Qurs., November 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have received your Letter of this days date;⁴⁰ it does not appear from any account worthy of credit, that any part of the Detachment which crossed the Delaware under Lord Cornwallis has returned to Philadelphia. I am inclined therefore to wish that you would advance to meet it, as much in force as possible, and that for this purpose, you would use every means to hasten the junction of Glovers Brigade. I am at a loss to account by what mistake Captn. Lee's Troop is not with you, that was originally intended for the Service you mention, as it was esteemed the best calculated for it, as a party of Horse appears so essential, that or some other will be ordered to join you immediately. I am etc.

P.S. By an Officer from Glovers Brigade, I was informed that it reached Morris Town the evening of the 20th. I sent a message by him to urge them forward and have reason to think they are by this time in your Neighbourhood.⁴¹

39. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

40. Greene's plan of intended battle against Cornwallis is in the *Washington Papers*, under date of November 26. (See Washington's letter to Maj. Gen, Nathanael Greene or Brig. Gen, James Mitchell Varnum or Jedidiah Huntington, Nov. 28, 1777, *post.*)

41. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM

Head Quarters, November 22, 1777.

Library of Congress

Sir: I have received your favours of 20th. and 21st. Instt. By this express I shall write to Maj. Genl. Greene from whom you will receive your Instructions respecting your operations on that Shore.

I am at a loss to determine upon what principle the powder was strewed over the fort at Red Bank, as I expected that if an Evacuation was found necessary, it might be brought off and if that was impracticable I conceived the best mode of destroying it was to throw it into the River unless it was determined to blow up the works with it, which could never be effected by the mode which was adopted.

As the destruction of the Fort would naturally accompany the idea of being obliged to abandon it, I shall be much disappointed, if I hear it has not been executed. I am &ca.42

To CAPTAIN ALLEN McLANE

Head Quarters, November 22, 1777.

Sir: I have this moment received your Letter containing the Proposals of some of the Inhabitants near the Enemy's

42. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

Lines I will undoubtedly accept their offers of Service provided they give in a list of their names, and engage to be under the absolute command for the time specified of such Officer as I shall appoint; this precaution is necessary, for otherwise they may receive the Public Money without performing the Duty expected of them. I am &ca.43

[N.Y.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, November 24, 1777.

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Dear Sir: If you have not moved from Mount Holly when this comes to hand, I wish you to wait there till you see Colo. Meade, who will set off immediately charged with some important matters which I thought it improper to commit to paper. This however you are to understand under this restriction, that I do not mean to prevent you a moment from prosecuting any object you have immediately in view that promises success.⁵⁰ I am etc.⁵¹

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, 8 O'Clock P.M., November 25, 1777.

Dear Sir: Colo. Meade delivered me yours this morning as

43. In the writing of John Laurens.

50. According to Lord Stirling's report to Washington (November 25) on a proposed attack on the British works at Philadelphia, a council of war was held on November 24; no record of it appears to have survived, but its proceedings may be inferred from collateral documents. The question was on the advisability of an attack on Philadelphia and, after discussion, the Commander in Chief requested the opinion of each general officer in writing. These opinions disclosed 10 officers—Greene, Sullivan, Knox, Smallwood, Maxwell, Poor, Paterson, Irvine, Duportail, and Armstrong—opposed to an attack; and five—Stirling, Wayne, Scott, Woodford, and De Kalb—favored an attempt. Stirling's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

51. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

I was on my way to reconnoitre the Enemy's Lines from the West Side of Schuylkill. I had a full view of their left and found their works much stronger than I had reason to expect from the Accounts I had received. The Enemy have evacuated Carpenters Island and seem to be about doing the same by Province Island. Accounts from the City say Lord Cornwallis was expected back to day or to morrow, which corresponds with the

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information sent you by Genl. Weedon. All these movements make me suspicious that they mean to collect their whole force while ours is divided, and make an attack on the Army on this side. I therefore desire (except you have a plan or prospect of doing some thing to advantage) that you will rejoin me with your whole force as quick as possible. I have ordered all the Boats down to Burlington to give you dispatch, and when you have crossed, all those not necessary for the common use at the Ferries should be immediately sent up to Coryell's again. Yours of Yesterday that appears to have been written before that sent by Colo. Meade has reached me since I got home. The Hospital at Burlington deserves your consideration; If you leave it uncovered and Lord Cornwallis should detach a party, the patients will certainly be made prisoners, I therefore beg you would endeavour to have them moved, or think of some way of giving them protection by posting some Militia or leaving some other Troops while the Enemy remain in that Quarter. The Hospital at Princeton also will be left naked, if the Enemy should move farther up, you will therefore leave

them some cover, if you think there will be occasion. I am etc.

P.S. As leaving a Guard at Princeton will still divide our force, if the patients could be removed further from thence, I think it would be far the better. I told Doctr. Shippen when he fixed it there, it would be dangerous.⁵³

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, White Marsh, November 28, 1777.

Dear Sir: The inclosed remonstrance was laid before me by Colo. Drake and Mr. Hunt Commissioners appointed in the County of West Chester to take care of all Forage and property exposed to the depredations of the Enemy, and also Commissioners of Sequestration to dispose of the personal property of those who have fled to or joined the Enemy.

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They complain, that parties from your Army frequently take property which they pretend is going to, or is within reach of the Enemy and make sale of it for their own benefit, pretending they do it by Virtue of a General order issued by me in Jersey last Spring.

That they may be under no misapprehension of that order in future I now declare that it was only meant to extend to such property as shall be actually taken from the Enemy by force of Arms, which I directed to be divided among the Captors as an

53. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the P.S. is in that of Tench Tilghman.

encouragement to them.

I therefore desire that for the future all property of what kind soever, that shall be removed from the Neighbourhood of the Enemy's lines, whether it belong to persons well or ill affected, shall be delivered to the Commissioners appointed by the State, to be by them disposed of in such manner as they shall think proper. If the Army is in want of the forage or provision so removed or taken, the Commissaries or Quarter Master are to purchase it of the Commissioners. This will entirely quiet the Inhabitants who upon the plan that has lately been adopted, find the Army their oppressors instead of protectors. I am &ca.73

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE OR BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM OR JEDIDIAH HUNTINGTON

Head Quarters, 7 O'Clock P.M., November 28, 1777.

Dear Sir: Captn. Duplessis has just delivered me yours of this morning from Burlington. Every account from Philadelphia confirms the report that the Enemy mean to make a speedy move. I shall not be disappointed if they come out this night or very early in the morning. You will therefore push forward the Rear Brigades with all possible expedition, and the moment

73. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

that the Troops and Baggage have all passed, let the Boats be instantly sent up the River to Coryells ferry; for one part of my information is, that the Enemy are preparing to send Boats up the Delaware, and it cannot be for any other purpose, than to destroy the remainder of our Water Craft. I shall be glad that you would come on immediately upon the receipt of this, and send word back to the Brigadiers to hasten their march. I am &ca.

P.S. If Genl. Green should not be found, Genl. Varnum or Huntington will be pleased to do what is directed above. And send word to the Captains of the Gallies to fall lower down the River to meet any Boats that may be coming up to annoy the passage of the Troops or Baggage.⁷⁴

To THE CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD

Head Quarters, November 29, 1777.

Gentn.: I am favored with yours of the 20th. I see no reason for changing my former opinion, in respect to Sinking the frigates to insure their safety. If they are weighed again and converted into Barracks for the seamen, they must be brought near the Shore and when the frost sets in, they cannot be sunk, should the Enemy

74. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

approach at such time. I however leave the matter to your judgment.

The Hulls of the Vessels will be all that are necessary for Barracks, if you should determine to put them to that use. The Sails, Rigging and all other stores of them and the Vessels that have been burn't, should be removed to some distance from the Water Side. I am, etc.⁷⁵

To JAMES MEASE

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 30, 1777.

Dear Sir: There are such variety of applications constantly, for matters that concern your Department, that I find it absolutely necessary you should be with the Army. This you may now do without any public inconvenience, as you have no store of goods by you to draw your attention. I therefore desire you may repair immediately to Head Quarters, and endeavour to form and fall upon some plan, in concert with the Officers from the different States, for the more effectual supply of their Troops. I am etc.⁷⁹

75. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

79. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

POWERS TO OFFICERS TO COLLECT CLOTHING, ETC.

Head Quarters, November , 1777.

By virtue of the powers vested in me by the Honorable Congress I hereby Authorize to collect all such Blankets, Shoes, Stocking and other Clothing suitable to the use of the Army, within the Counties of in the State of Pennsylvania, as the Inhabitants can spare without greatly distressing their Families. In doing this you are to take care, that, the unfriendly Quakers and others notoriously disaffected to the cause of American Liberty do not escape your Vigilance. You are to give Certificates to the Inhabitants of the Quantity and Value of each Species you receive from them, directed to James Mease Esqr. Clothier General at Lancaster of which you are to keep an exact entry; And at the End of this Service you are to make an exact return of each Certificate to the Clothier General and another to me. Whatever Blankets and Clothing you may collect, is to be sent, with an account of it, to the Commanding Officer of the Brigade you belong to.⁸⁰

80. The draft is in the writing of Lord Stirling.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 2, 1777.

Dear Sir: The importance of the North River in the present contest and the necessity of defending it, are Subjects which have been so frequently and so fully discussed and are so well understood, that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon them. These facts at once appear, when it is considered that it runs thro' a whole State; That it is the only passage by which the Enemy from New York or any part of our Coast, can ever hope to Cooperate with an Army that may come from Canada; That the possession of it is indispensibly essential to preserve the Communication between the Eastern, Middle and Southern States; And further, that upon its security, in a great measure, depend our chief supplies of Flour for the subsistence of such Forces as we may have occasion for, in the course of the War, either in the Eastern or Northern Departments, or in the Country lying high up on the west side of it. These facts are familiar to all, they are familiar to you. I therefore request you in the most urgent terms, to turn your most serious and active attention to this very and infinitely important object. Seize the present opportunity and employ your whole force and all the means in your power for erecting and compleating, as far as it shall be possible, such works and obstructions as may be necessary to defend and secure the River against any future attempts of the Enemy. You will consult Govr.

Clinton, Genl. Parsons and the French Engineer Colo. La Radiere, upon the occasion. By gaining the passage, you know the Enemy have already laid waste and destroyed all the Houses, Mills and Towns accessible to them. Unless proper measures are taken to prevent them, they will renew their Ravages in the Spring, or as soon as the season will admit, and perhaps Albany the only Town in the State of any importance remaining in our hands, may undergo a like fate and a general Havock and devastation take place.

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To prevent these Evils, therefore, I shall expect that you will exert every nerve and employ your Whole force in future, while and whenever it is practicable, in constructing and forwarding the proper works and means of defence. They must not be kept out on command and acting in Detachments to cover the Country below, which is a consideration infinitely less important and interesting. I am etc.⁸⁴

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, December 2, 1777.

Sir: I was yesterday favd. with yours of the 23d Novemr. and am glad to find that you were upon your guard against any attempt of Genl. Burgoyne to endeavour to change the place of embarkation. No Transports have yet sailed from the Delaware for the

84. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

purpose of carrying the Troops to Europe, nor do I hear that any have gone from New York. I can only attribute this delay to want of provision for the Voyage. Bread we know is exceedingly scarce among them.

By Resolve of Congress of the 5th. Novemr. (Copy of which I perceive by the Resolve itself has been transmitted to you) you are directed, with a certain part of the northern Army and the assistance of the Militia of New York and the Eastern States, to attempt the recovery of the posts upon the North River from the Enemy, and to put them, if recovered, in the best posture of defence. The Enemy having themselves vacated Forts Montgomery and Clinton while the Resolve was in agitation, but of which the Congress could not at the time be informed, the first part falls of course; but the last deserves our most serious attention, as upon the possession of the North River depends the security of all the upper part of the Government of New York and the communication between the Eastern, middle and southern States. It is also the Quarter in which the Enemy will probably attempt

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a diversion in the Spring, as, from the small force remaining in Canada, there is not a possibility of their doing any thing on that side till very late in the Campaign, if at all.

My not having heard from you, what Steps you have taken towards carrying the Resolve, for repairing the old Works or building new, into execution, or when you might be expected down into that part of the Country, has made me hitherto delay

recalling Genl. Putnam from the command. But I beg leave to urge to you the necessity of your presence in that quarter as speedily as possible for I fear few or no measures have yet been taken towards putting matters in a proper train for carrying on these important Works.

Genl. George Clinton will necessarily be employed in the affairs of his Government, but I have wrote to him for, and I am certain he will call for and contribute all the Aid that the State of New York can possibly afford. You are vested by the Resolve of Congress to demand a proportionable Share of Assistance from the Eastern States.

I observe, by a paragraph in the Fishkill paper of some days later date than your Letter, that the Enemy had evacuated Ticonderoga, and Independence. If this should have happened, it will not only releive your attention from that object, but it will enable you to draw the Force which you might have intended to watch the operations of the Enemy in that quarter, lower down the River.

Lieutt. Colo. Willet, who was here a few days ago, mentioned that Gansevoort's Regiment was at Fort Schuyler, and Van Schaicks at Schenectady. He seemed of opinion, from his knowledge of that Country, and from the disposition of the Indians since your success to the Northward, that a much less Garrison than the whole of Gansevoorts Regiment would be Sufficient for Fort Schuyler, and that the remainder of that and Van Schaicks might be brought down the Country. Your own knowledge and Judgment will undoubtedly point out

Library of Congress

the propriety or safety of such a measure. I barely mention Colo. Willets opinion of the matter.

You must be so well convinced of the importance of the North River, that nothing more need be said to induce you to set about the security of it with the greatest vigour. I some time ago sent up Lt. Colo. La Radiere to Fishkill to assist in carrying on the Works; but if he, with the Gentlemen who was before with you, should not be sufficient, I can send up another who I beleive is a Master of his profession.

Genl. Howe has withdrawn himself close within his lines, which extend from the upper Ferry upon Schuylkill to Kensington upon Delaware. They consist of a Chain of strong Redoubts, connected by Abattis. We have reconnoitered them well, but find it impossible to attack them while defended by a forcefully equal to our own in Continental Troops. The Reinforcement from New York unluckily arriving before ours from the Northward, it was out of my power to afford adequate relief to Fort Mifflin, which fell after a most gallant defence of seven Weeks. The Works upon the Jersey Shore, which were not tenable, after the Reduction of Fort Mifflin, were evacuated, as it would have been impossible to have supported the Garrison there. We have not yet determined upon a position for the Army during the Winter. That Situation will undoubtedly be most eligible, which will afford best cover to the Troops, and will at the same time cut off the Enemy from Resources of provisions, which they may probably stand in need of, when the Navigation of Delaware is obstructed by the Ice. I am &ca.⁸⁵

[N.Y.H.S.]

85. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The draft varies in a few minor verbal particulars from the letter sent.

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Head Quarters, December 2, 1777.

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Dear Sir: I have this day received your favour of 28th. Ult^o. and can only say it gives me concern that your Excursion to Staten Island was not attended with success equal to your expectation which, from the Plan you had formed, and the secrecy with which you expected to have executed it, I suppose was pretty Sanguine; but experience shews us that the most trifling incidents will frustrate the best concerted schemes, and as Mr. Skinner had notice of your approach, I think you may be satisfied with the small loss you sustained and the Capture you made.⁸⁹

It is highly agreeable to me, that you are coming towards the Delaware with the Detachment you mention and am certain it will be in your power to afford much greater protection to the State by having a pretty considerable body of Men stationed at Mount Holly, than in any other part of it; As I conceive that a small party will be sufficient, under the present Circumstances, to defend it against Incursions from Staten Island.

Having found that Lord Cornwallis had returned from the Jersey with his Troops, and having advice that they intended a General Stroke at this Army (which I thought not improbable) I was under the necessity of withdrawing the Continental Forces from your side the River. I am &ca.⁹⁰

89. General Dickinson's foray on Staten Island was made with about 1,400 men early in the morning of November 27. The British received word of the intended surprise and retreated within their fortifications. Dickinson captured a few prisoners, killed a few of the enemy, and made good his retreat, with small loss, after staying eight hours on the island. His letter of November 28 is in the *Washington Papers*.

90. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 3, 1777.

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Dear Sir: The importance of the North River in the present contest and the necessity of defending It, are Subjects so well understood and so familiar to you, that it is needless for me to enlarge upon them. I therefore only mean to mention that no exertions can be too great to render it secure against any future attempts of the Enemy, and that the present opportunity should be improved to effect it, as far as it may be practicable. There cannot remain a doubt, but that the Enemy, as soon as the Spring opens, or the condition of the River after the Winter's frost will permit, will attempt to gain possession of it, to prosecute their favourite plans of ruin and of devastation. [unless the most vigorous efforts are adopted to prevent them] Under these Ideas, I must beg, my Dr. Sir, that you will turn your attention to this infinitely important Object, and by your advice and assistance promote and forward, as much as possible, such Works and Obstructions as shall be essential to render it perfectly secure. I wish to be favoured with your sentiments upon the subject, and that you will give them with freedom and without reserve, as to the present management, or of any difficulties that may have occurred to prevent you from interfering.

Genl. Gates was directed by Congress to turn his

views to this matter, but from some proceedings that have just come to hand, he may be employed in the Board of War, if it shall be his choice. Should this be the case, nothing would be more pleasing to me, and I am convinced more advancive of the Interest of the States, than for you to take the chief direction and super-intendence of this business; and I shall be happy, if the Affairs of Government will permit you. If they will, you may rest assured, no aid in my power to afford you shall be withheld, and there are no Impediments on the score of delicacy or superior command, that shall not be removed. I am etc.⁹³

[N.Y.H.S.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL THOMAS NELSON, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, White Marsh, December 10, 1777.

Library of Congress

Dear Sir: I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 21st. Ult. on Wednesday last; but such has been the Situation of the two Armies since, that I have not had an opportunity of answering it before this time.

Genl. Howe had been for several days making great preparations for a move, which they did not scruple to say was intended against this Army, threatening to drive us beyond the mountains. On Thursday Evening last they marched out

93. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The phrase in brackets is in the draft, which is also in Harrison's writing, but not in the letter sent.

and took post in the morning upon Chesnut Hill, three miles in our Front. In the Evening they shifted their Ground to our left, from which I thought they meant an attack upon that quarter. But after manœvering about us for some days, they suddenly decamped on Monday afternoon and marched back to Philada., in the most hasty manner. I detached light parties after them, but they were not able to come up with them.

I hope the exertions of our Friends in your House of assembly will be attended with the desired effect. Unless we can fill our Regiments against the next Campaign, I very much fear that all our past labours will have been in vain, for unless a War with France should divert the attention of Great Britain, I am convinced she will strain every nerve to make up for the disappointments and losses of this Campaign. And altho, from many of our late accounts, it should seem as if a War was inevitable, we ought not to count upon that score, but make our preparations as if we were to depend solely upon our own Bottoms.

The question you ask respecting the strength of our Army is of so important a nature, that altho I have the fullest confidence in you, I dare not trust the particulars to paper for fear of accidents. Thus much I can assure you, that our numbers have been always much exaggerated and that the Enemy have constantly exceeded our Continental Force. The

Library of Congress

Battalions of the other States are in point of deficiency much upon a footing with yours and you may judge from thence, how much we stand in need

of Recruits.

The Officers who commanded at Red Bank and Fort Mifflin were Colo. Green of Rhode Island and Lt. Colo. Smith of Maryland. They did all that brave men could do, but the posts at length fell, being over powered by dint of superior force. They however confess that the long and unexpected opposition which they received broke in upon their plans for the remainder of the Campaign. I am &ca.9

To DOCTOR WILLIAM SHIPPEN, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, December 12, 1777.

Dear Sir: In answer to your favour of to day, I cannot think Princeton, under the present situation of affairs, by any means a proper place for the sick. Should they remain there they would be liable to be taken. At the same time, I do not wish you to precipitate their removal in such a manner as to endanger them. In respect to the Hospitals at Easton and Bethlehem, I also am of opinion that they should be removed: But these, as their situation is not so dangerous, may be deferred till the last. We must keep the Sick always in the Rear of the Army, or they will be subject to captivity. As to Colo. Nichola and his Corps I shall have no objection to their being at the Hospitals, if there is no Resolution of Congress assigning

9. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

them to other duty, Colo. Nichola will know if this is the case. I am etc.13

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Gulph Mill, December 17, 1777.

Library of Congress

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 23d. and 27th.³² of November. If the Recruits intended for Lee's and Jackson's Regiments have not had the small pox, and axe not marched when this reaches you, I desire they may be inoculated before they join the Army. After the repeated directions, which I had given to have All the Recruits who had not had that disorder innoculated the moment they were inlisted, I was not less surprised than mortified to find the fine detachment of Men that came forward under Lt. Colo. Smith rendered intirely useless for this Campaign by my Orders not being attended to. By the time they reached the Camp the small pox broke out upon them, which obliged me to send the whole into the Hospital, as those who were well were not more than sufficient to nurse the sick.

I immediately forwarded the packets and Letters from Genl. Burgoyne and his Officers to Genl. Howe. As to Genl. Burgoyne's request to me, to permit him to depart before his Army, I did not think myself authorized to grant it, before I consulted Congress,

13. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

32. The draft has "23d, 26th and 27th."

to whom I transmitted a Copy of his Letter. I shall give him an Answer as soon as I know their determination. I think it would have been highly improper to have allowed him the liberty of visiting your Seaport Towns. A man of his sagacity and penetration would make many observations upon situations &ca. that might prove detrimental to us in future.

You have felt but a small share of the inconveniences arising from the ill regulations in the Commissary's department. I hope it will get into some better order before long, but in the mean time you acted properly in appointing persons to excute the Office yourself.³³

Library of Congress

Your favor of the 4th. Instant came to Hand since beginning this Letter. I am pleased to hear of the arrival of the Ship with Artillery &ca. from France, as it is a fresh proof of the friendly disposition of that Court towards us.

Genl. Patterson informs me that there are Two Hundred and forty of the Troops of Massachusetts who were drafted for Eight Months, and whose times will expire the last of this Month. He also informs me that care will be taken by the Legislature to replace them, but lest they may be forgetful of it, I beg you will remind them not only of the necessity of reinlisting or supplying the place of the above number, but of filling their Regiments against the next Campaign. Upon this last head, I have written fully to Congress, and I make no doubt they have or will urge the matter to the Council and Assembly of your State.

Whenever you have occasion for directions in any matters respecting General Burgoyne and his Troops, it will be best for you to write fully to Congress upon the subject, as they alone must

33. At this point the draft has the following crossed out: "As there will undoubtedly be a great many points to adjust before the Army under Genl. Burgoyne will be permitted to embark I would recommend it to you to not to suffer them to depart before you have the full and final order of Congress for that purpose."

determine in all cases which refer to them. I am etc.³⁴

[MS.H.S.]

***To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD**

Gulph Mill, December 19, 1777.

Dr. Sir: With the Division lately commanded by Genl. Sullivan, you are to March immediately for Wilmington, and take Post there. You are not to delay a moment in

Library of Congress

putting the place in the best posture of defence, to do which, and for the security of it afterwards, I have written in urgent terms to the President of the Delaware State to give every aid he possibly can of Militia. I have also directed an Engineer to attend you for the purpose of constructing, and superintending the Works, and you will fix with the Quarter Master on the number of Tools necessary for the business; but do not let any neglect, or deficiency on his part, impede your operations, as you are hereby vested with full power to sieze and take (passing receipts) such articles as are wanted. The Commissary and Forage Master will receive directions respecting your Supplies, in their way; but I earnestly request that you will see that these Supplies are drawn from the Country between you and Philadelphia, as it will be depriving the Enemy of all chance of getting them; and in this point of view, becomes an object to us of importance.

34. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft is in that of Tench Tilghman and Harrison.

I earnestly exhort you to keep both Officers and Men to their duty, and to avoid furloughs but in cases of absolute necessity. You will also use your utmost endeavours to collect all the straglers &ca. from both Brigades, and you are also to use your best endeavours to get the Men Cloathed in the most comfortable manner you can.

You will be particular in your observation of every thing passing on the River and will communicate every matter of Importance to, Dear Sir, etc.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Qurs., Valley Forge, December 20, 1777.

Dear Sir: I yesterday Evening received your favour of the 7th Instant, and am happy to find the first account of the arrival of the Ship with Artillery &ca. fully confirmed.⁴⁸ This event is fortunate and interesting, as it not only manifests the strong attachment of France to our cause, but also makes us very respectable in point of Artillery. I doubt not of your attention

Library of Congress

to secure the Stores, and wish your care of them. The Board of War, it is probable, will give particular directions about them.

The state of the Commissary's department has given me more concern of late, than any thing else. Unless matters in that

48. Beaumarchais's ship *Flamond*, at Portsmouth, N. H.

line are very speedily taken up and put in a better train, the most alarming consequences are to be apprehended. Congress are already informed upon the subject, Yet I shall transmit them that part of your Letter which relates to it. Your conduct in delivering the Salt to Mr. Colt⁴⁹ so far from being censurable, gives you a claim, in my opinion, to the public thanks. Surely nothing can be more essential than laying up supplies of provision for the Army, and if the present moment is not siezed for the purpose I do not see how it will be possible to subsist it. The work has been already too long neglected. Should it be still deferred, the prospect before us will be painful and disagreeable. As far as your situation and circumstances will admit, I beg you to give Mr. Colt every spur in your power to prosecute the business. My last advices from Congress on this subject were that they had written to the State of Connecticut respecting it.

The Board of War have received some report, that a Genl. Hamilton⁵⁰ of Genl. Burgoyne's Army is desirous of being exchanged and serving in America. This they have not had from any proper authority. However I request that you will inquire into the matter, and if it is so, the measure will be readily come into on our part and may be carried into effect for the release of Brigadr. Genl. Thompson. At the same time, I would observe, if this is Genl. Hamilton's wish, it will be necessary for General Burgoyne to inform me of it, that application may be made to Genl. Howe, upon the Subject. It might not be improper for Genl. Burgoyne to inclose me a line from himself to Genl. Howe. I would

49. Peter Colt, deputy commissary general of purchases, Eastern Department.

Library of Congress

50. Maj. Gen. Sir Robert Hamilton. He was colonel of the Fortieth Foot, British Army, and a major general in America.

have you introduce the matter as a report you had heard but not as coming from me, nor in nature of an application. If this Exchange should take place, perhaps it may be the means of bringing on others and of relieving many of our Officers from their present unhappy condition.

This Letter goes by an Express to Genl. Burgoyne. Congress will not consider or give any answer to any propositions or requests he may make for altering or dispensing with any Terms in the Convention of Saratoga, unless he makes them directly to themselves. I am etc.⁵¹

[MS.H.S.]

To COLONEL HENRY E. LUTTERLOH⁵²

December 20, 1777.

Whereas the Enemy, in their late excursions have carried off most of the Horses belonging to such of the inhabitants of the Counties of Philadelphia and Chester as have been within their reach, whereby they have been enabled to increase their number of light Dragoons. Therefore in order to prevent their making the like advantages in future and at the same time to enable us to remount our Dragoons upon such Horses as would otherwise in all probability fall into the hands of the Enemy, you are hereby authorized by yourself or any of your deputies or such other persons as are properly appointed by you, to remove all Horses of proper age and size for draft or saddle

51. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

52. Col. Henry Emanuel Lutterloh, Deputy Quartermaster General.

that may be found between our advanced posts and those of the Enemy. Excepting only such a number as may be absolutely necessary for the purpose of drawing Fuel for the Family during the Winter.

For the Horses so taken receipts are to be given, specifying their Age, size, colour and marks, and are to be brought to the Head Quarters of the Army where the owners are to attend and a proper value is to be affixed to each by persons indifferently chosen by yourself and them. You are to employ no persons in the execution of this Business, but those in whom you can place confidence and who will conduct themselves in such a manner as will not tend to give offence to the good people of the Country, but rather convince them of the equity and propriety of the measure which is calculated to secure and pay for that property which they have lately found our Enemies deprive them of, without any kind of compensation. I am &ca.53

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 21, 1777.

Dear Sir: Major Clark has wrote to me several times about some provision that a Mr. Trumbull was sending

53. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

into Philadelphia by his permission as a cover to procure intelligence. This provision was siezed by Colo. Ranking and has been since detained by him. I desire you will give orders to have it delivered, for unless we now and then make use of such means to get admittance into the City we cannot expect to obtain intelligence.

I think it of the greatest consequence to have what Hay remains upon the Islands above the mouth of Derby Creek destroyed, especially if what you heard of the former Magazine of Hay being spoiled is true. At any rate, as we cannot remove it, I think it should be done

Library of Congress

as speedily as possible, as we shall probably oblige them to come out into the Country to forage, which will perhaps give us an opportunity of cutting off a party. The mode I leave intirely to Colo. Morgan and yourself. I am informed that there are parties cutting wood every day on this side the Schuylkill. I do not doubt but they might easily be drove in, but I think destroying the Hay ought to be first attended to. I am &ca.54

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 22, 1777.

Dear Sir: The Enemy marched out of Philadelphia this morning early with a considerable Body. Their intent is said to be to forage, but lest they may have something further in view, 54. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

I think it proper to put you upon your guard. They encamp this Evening near Derby. I have] this day received information, that the Troops were embarked some days ago, and were said to be destined for New York are designed to land in the lower Counties and collect Stock and Forages there and upon the Eastern Shore of Maryland. But I cannot say the information is much to be depended upon. You may easily know the probability of this, by sending down to inquire whether the Transports yet remain in Delaware Bay. I shall be glad to hear what progress you make in fortifying yourself, and whether the Militia join you in any considerable Number. I am etc.55

To MAJOR JOHN JAMESON

December 24, 1777.

You are hereby directed to repair to the East side of Schuylkill kill and take the command of the parties of Horse stationed upon the different Roads leading into the City of Philadelphia.

Library of Congress

You are not only to watch the motions of the Enemy upon that quarter, but what you are principally to attend to, is to endeavour to cut off the intercourse between the Country and the City of Philadelphia. In order to do this more effectually, you are to Sieze all provision of every kind going into the City with the

55. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Horses or Carriages upon which it is conveyed without respect to persons, and if any are taken carrying in such quantities as appear to you intended for sale and a supply to the markets, you are to apprehend them and send them with proper Witnesses to Head Quarters, that they may be dealt with according to a Resolve of Congress⁶⁸ lately passed for the purpose Of cutting off the intercourse between the City and Country.

The provision so Siezed is to be applied, part thereof to the Support of the parties under your command and the remainder to be sent to the Commissary General. The Horses and Carriages to the Qr. Mr. General.

You are to make a return of the number of Men and Condition of the Horses upon the East side of Schuylkill, that they may be increased or diminished as the nature of the Service ice may require.

You are to inform Genl. Count Polaski of your being sent upon this command, and you are to forward to me the earliest intelligence of any thing that you may judge material. I am etc.⁶⁹

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 27, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 16th. instant from

68. The resolve of Oct. 9, 1777. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.)

Library of Congress

69. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

the Sawpitts. I am glad to find that matters are not as represented in Colo. Drake's⁸³ memorial, and my only wish is that the people may be protected, as far as circumstances will permit without detriment to the public cause.

I am exceedingly sorry to hear of the misfortune that has befallen Colo. Webb⁸⁴ and Colo. Eli, and I can only hope that our loss is not greater than had come to your knowledge at the time of writing. I have ever been averse to these small excursions, especially when they divert our attention from more material objects. And as I think more solid advantages will arise from carrying on the works upon the River than now and then attempting the destruction of part of the Enemy's Stores, my wish is that the Troops may be kept steadily to work, except such as are necessary to patrol towards the plains and keep small parties from ravaging.

If Genl. Gates should have come down to Fishkill, or if he should not, if Genl. Parsons remains there, I have no objection to your going home for a time, to look after your private affairs.⁸⁵

Before you leave the post, be pleased to make me an exact return of the Strength, distinguishing the Continental particularly from the Militia.

I wish you a happy sight of your remaining family and am etc.⁸⁶

83. Col. Samuel Drake, of the New York Militia. He was also a New York commissioner to remove stock beyond the reach of the enemy, and his complaint related to an alleged improper seizure of cattle by Putnam's troops.

Library of Congress

84. Col. Samuel Blatchley Webb, of an Additional Continental regiment, and Col. John Ely, of a Connecticut Militia regiment, had been taken prisoners on an expedition to Long Island on December 10.

85. Putnam's wife had died and he had requested a furlough.

86. The draft is in the writing at Tench Tilghman.

***To COLONEL HENRY E. LUTTERLOH**

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 27, 1777.

Sir: As we have more than probably taken a position for the Winter, and every exertion in the different departments should be made to prepare for the next Campaign. I take this early opportunity to remind you of the necessity of providing Common Tents, Bell Tents for Arms, Ammunition Waggon, and such other essentials in your Line as you know will be wanted for the use of the Troops next Campaign. A Moments reflection must convince you that the smallest delay will be injurious, as the Season for providing these things is fast advancing, and the difficulty in obtaining them may be great.

If you have not resources within your own Comd. to furnish the two first Articles, you are to apply to the board of War for Instructions; particularly, to know whether the Sail Duck imported, or purchased for the Frigates may not be applied to these useful purposes.

To descend into the Minutiae of our wants, is unnecessary; the experience of the last Campaign, will be your best informer, and guide.⁸⁸ I am etc.

P.S. You ought to know where your resources of Waggon and Drivers are to be had, and no longer depend upon Soldiers for this business.

Library of Congress

88. On December 28 Lieut. Col. John Laurens wrote to Lutterloh, by direction of Washington, to collect plank from the mills nearby and repair the new bridge over the Schuylkill. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG

Head Quarters, December 28, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have this Morning received your favour of 26th. Instr. The method you have adopted for preventing the intercourse and Supply of Marketting from the Country, I think is a good one, and I expect will have the intended effect, though I fear it is impossible to put a total stop to it, even by the greatest exertions of the Officers, as there are many Avenues to Town which it will be found difficult to Guard. Congress had information that there was a great Quantity of Flour near the British Lines which I suppose by what you mention to be groundless.

I have, by their desire, issued a Proclamation ordering the Farmers to Thresh out their Wheat and prepare it for Mill, and that in case of Noncompliance within certain Periods, it shall be Siezed upon for the use of the Army and only paid for as Straw.

A number of printed Copies are to be sent from Lancaster, when they arrive I shall forward a proportion to you. When the Wheat is ready, the Commissaries will go thro the Country and pay a generous price for it.

Our want of the Article you mention⁹⁰ has been relieved in a temporary manner, but not fixed upon so good a foundation, as to prevent my apprehensions of similar and indeed greater inconveniences happening in the course

90. Armstrong does not name the article, but it seems probable that it was powder.

of this Winter from the same cause.

Library of Congress

By the last accounts from below, the British Army remain in the same situation. When they return and things are a little settled here, I shall readily agree to your request of having Genl. Potter with you, and will give him directions accordingly.

I have now to acknowledge your favour of the 23d. instr. by a return Express. The Troops which had marched over the foot Bridge at Matson's ford had returned before I came up, this was occasioned by the Officers not knowing the numbers or situation of the Enemy, and the risque of passing thro so great a defile as lies on this side the River. As soon as I was acquainted with the Circumstance of the Bridge, I ordered them to stop and repair what damage had been done; had we been acquainted with the strength of the Enemy upon this Occasion, something very advantageous might have been effected. As the meeting, I believe, was very unexpected on both sides, [however] it is always much easier to see where advantages might have been taken, and what ought to be done, when the matter in agitation is passed beyond a possibility of being recalled. I am &ca.91

91. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald. The word in brackets is in the writing of Washington.

To WILLIAM BUCHANAN⁹²

Head Quarters, December 28, 1777.

Sir: As the Season advances in which bad weather and broken Roads will render the transporting provision from any distance, for the most part subject to considerable delay, and sometimes impracticable. It becomes indispensibly necessary to form with all possible expedition ample Magazines for our Winter Supply contiguous to the Rear of the Camp, and to embrace every favourable Opportunity of keeping them furnished. They ought never to have less than thirty days provision in them.

You will likewise extend your views to establishing the necessary Magazines for the next Campaign; with respect to their Situation I can only say in general Terms at present, that

Library of Congress

they are to be in the most convenient places consistent with security for Subsisting an Army in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia.

The Deputies in your Department complain of a deficiency of Waggon, the power which you have by virtue of

92. Commissary General of Purchases of the Continental Army.

your office of impressing them, if exerted, will certainly remedy this evil. I am &ca.

P.S. Such Articles of provision as can be obtained nearest the Enemy's Lines, ought to be first secured.⁹³

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 29, 1777.

Dear Sir: Major Blackden⁹⁴ of Colo. Sheldons Light Dragoons goes to Boston to procure Cloathing and Accoutrements for the Regiment against the ensuing Campaign. As the prices of many articles have risen from there being too great a number of Bidders, I have directed the Major, if there are any persons purchasing for the Continent, not to interfere with them, but to apply to them for such Articles as he may want, and as he has the measures of the Men, he will have the Uniforms made up. There will be several things as Boots, sadlery &ca. for which he must contract himself, to pay for which I desire you will furnish him with money. If the Continental Agents should not have the Articles of Cloathing proper for Major Blackden, he is in that case to procure them on the best terms he can, and you will also be pleased to furnish him with Money for the Amount. We have found so many advantages from Cavalry in the

93. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens. Practically this same letter was sent Col. Clement Biddle, Commissary General of Forage of the Continental Army, on the same date as this letter. The letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Library of Congress

94. Lieut. Col. Samuel Blackden [Blagden], of the Second Continental Dragoons. He had been promoted from major on Apr. 7, 1777; resigned in August, 1779.

Course of this Campaign, that I am determined to augment them as much as possible against the next, and enable them to take the Field in a respectable manner. I therefore hope you will give Major Blackden your Countenance and every assistance in your power. I am etc.⁹⁵

[MS.H.S.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 29, 1777.

Dear Sir: I was yesterday favd. with yours of the 27th. as I was with those of the 22d. and 25th. I imagine the Ships you saw going down, were only empty Transports and Victuallers for which having no use, they think it safer to send them away than let them lay crowded in the docks of Philada. where a single Vessel taking fire might prove destruction of the whole. The Enemy, who were only out upon a great Hay, Forage, have returned to Philada. I was apprehensive that they would have paid you a visit, and altho they [we ?] were not in a position to make a general attack upon them to advantage, I kept large parties of light troops near them to watch their motions and prevent their stragling into the Country and plundering.

I shall send you down a party of Light Horse as much with a view of refreshing them as any thing else, for while the Enemy remain quiet in Philada. you will not have occasion to keep

95. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Library of Congress

out a single Vidette. If they at any time cross the Schuylkill, I shall give you notice by Express, and you may then advance a few Horse, some towards Chester and others up the Brandywine to keep a look out at other times I wish they may lay intirely still, and if you have occasion for Expresses hire them from the Country.

Or if you can take seven or eight of the Dover Horse into employ you may do it, they will serve for the purpose of bringing you intelligence from different parts of the Country and carrying dispatches when there is occasion.

I beg you will continue to urge the president of the Delaware State and Genl. Rodney to turn out part of their Militia to your assistance.

I approve of your proposal of setting one of the Mills to work to supply you with Flour and Horse Feed, but you should keep it intirely under your own direction, that no more may be ground than what you and the inhabitants may want.

I will order the Commissary to send you down some salt and liquor if he has any of the latter, and the Waggon shall make up a load with intrenching Tools. As our stock of liquor is very small, your Commissary had better purchase some, up the Country, for the use of the Men upon fatigue.

Officers, on whom you can depend, should now be sent off to collect all the Straglers of your division and those who may have recovered in the different Hospitals, and you should inform the State of Maryland where you are that what Cloathing they collect for their Troops may be sent to you.

Inclosed you have a Resolve of Congress founded upon information that large quantities of Cattle have been driven down upon the Marshes of Kent upon Delaware which

are exposed to the depredations of the Enemy or may be easily conveyed to them. I desire you will, in conjunction with the president of the State, have the fact inquired into, and if it

Library of Congress

be found true, endeavour to have them removed to a place of Safety, from whence they may be taken by the Commissary, and paid for as the Resolve directs.⁹⁶

If the Weather should continue as severe as it promises, Vessels will not be able to go up to Philada. on account of the Ice, perhaps they may be obliged to put into Reedy Island. If they should and you can procure intelligence of it quickly, you may, by sending down a party and a single field piece make prize of them or oblige them to run down the Bay again. If they pass by you, they may probably not be able to get further up than Chester, where they must lay within the piers to avoid the Ice, and there they may be easily either destroyed or taken. I would have you endeavour to procure people who live at or near the places just mentioned to give you intelligence privately if any Vessels put in, that you may take measures to secure them. I am &ca.⁹⁷

[M.L.]

96. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Dec. 15, 1777.

97. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To COLONEL JOHN GIBSON⁹⁸

Head Quarters, December 29, 1777.

Sir: Captn. Sullivan⁹⁹ has delivered me your Letter of the 5th. Instant, inclosing a return of the Garrison at Fort Pitt, and desiring me to give such directions to Captn. Sullivan as may facilitate the procuring a Supply of Clothing for that part of the 13th. Virginia Regiment which is with you, I am sorry that I can do no more in this business than represent the distress of the Garrison to the Board of War and press them to apply the speediest relief possible. I have for this purpose written them a Letter to be delivered by Captn. Sullivan. I am etc.¹

To MAJOR GENERAL THOMAS CONWAY

Head Qurs., December 30, 1777.

Sir: I am favoured with your Letter of Yesterday, in which you propose (in order to loose no time) to begin with the instructions of the Troops.⁷

You will observe by the Resolution of Congress relative to your appointment, that the board of War is to furnish a Sett

98. Of the Sixth Virginia Regiment, then commanding at Fort Pitt.

99. Capt. James Sullivan, of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment.

1. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

7. Conway was appointed by Congress Inspector General of the Continental Army and promoted to the rank of major general on December 13. His letter of December 29 to Washington recited: "I accepted the office of inspector general with the view of being instrumental to the Welfare of the cause, and to the Glory of the commander in chief in making his troops fitt to execute his orders. The rank of major general which was given me is absolutely requisite for this office in order to be vested with proper authority to superintend the instruction, and the internal administration. there is no inspector in the european armies under a Major general. however sir if my appointment is productive of any inconvenience or any Ways Disagreeable to your excellency, as I neither apply'd nor solicited for this place, I am very readdy to return to france where I have pressing Business; and this I will do with the more satisfaction that I expect even there to be useful to the cause." Conway's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Conway had applied to Congress for the rank of a major general as early as Sept. 25, 1777, and his letters of October 19 and November 14 to that body were impertinent arguments sustaining his claim to such a promotion. It is quite doubtful that he would

Library of Congress

have secured this rank and that of Inspector General if the influences in Congress and the Board of War which were antagonistic to Washington had not just then been in the ascendancy.

of Instructions, according to which the Troops are to be Manoeuvred. As you have made no mention of having received them, I suppose they are not come to you. When they do, I shall issue any Orders which may be judged necessary to have them carried into immediate Execution.

Your appointment of Inspector General to the Army, I believe has not given the least uneasiness to any Officer in it. By consulting your own feelings upon the appointment of the baron de Kalb you may judge what must be the Sensations of those Brigadiers, who by your Promotion are Superceded.⁸ I am told they are determined to Remonstrate against it; for my own part I have nothing to do in the appointment of Genl. Officers, and shall always afford every Countenance and due respect to those appointed by Congress; taking it for granted, that prior to any Resolve of that Nature, they take a dispassionate View, of the merits of the Officer to be promoted, and consider every consequence that can result from such a Procedure; nor have I any other wish on that Head, but that good attentive Officers may be chosen, and no Extraordinary promotion take place, but where the Merit of the Officer is so generally acknowledged as to Obviate every reasonable cause of Dissatisfaction thereat. I am etc.⁹

To MAJOR SAMUEL BLAGDEN

Head Quarters, December 30, 1777.

Sir: Being appointed by Colo. Sheldon to procure

8. Conway himself had been a vigorous remonstrant to Congress on Baron De Kalb's appointment, claiming that De Kalb was his inferior in rank in France.

Library of Congress

9. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

Conway's reply to this letter (December 31) is characteristic. He outlines what he had intended, spoke largely of preparing and printing a set of regulations, but left these matters in the air, with a warning that Washington had no time to lose. It was a clever shifting of responsibility concealed behind a future claim of unfamiliarity with the English language, which defense he attempted to make later in the matter of his resignation to Congress. "What you are pleased to call an extraordinary promotion is a very plain one. there is nothing extraordinary in it, only that such a place was not thought of Sooner. the General and universal merit, Which you Wish every promoted officer might be endowed with, is a rare gift. We see but few men of merit so generally acknowledged. We know But the great frederick in europe, and the great Washington in this continent. I certainly never was so rash as to pretend to such a prodigious height; neither Do I pretend to any superiority in personal qualities over my Brother Brigadiers for Whom I have much regard. but you, sir, and the great frederick know perfectly well, that this trade is not Learn'd in a few Months. I have served steadily thirty years. that is, before some of my comrades Brigadiers Were Born. therefore I Do not think that it will be found Marvellous and incredible, if I command here a number of men Which falls much short of What I have commanded those many years in an old army.

"however, sir, By the complexion of your Letter, and by the two receptions you have honour'd me with since my arrival, I perceive that I have not the happiness of being agreeable to your excellency, and that I can expect no support in fulfilling the Laborious Duty of an inspector general I Do not mean to give you or any officer in the army the Least uneasiness therefore I am very readdy to return to france and to the army where I hope I will Meet with no frowns. I begg Leave to Wish your Excellency a happy New year and a Glorious Campaign." Conway's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Col. Ephraim Blaine, Deputy Commissary General of Purchases, informed Lieut. Col. Robert Hanson Harrison (Jan. 18, 1778) that General Conway had publicly said "that

Library of Congress

the General was not the man people Imagined nor yet the General, and that he was unpardonable for Missing the Many Oppertunities he had over the Enemy.” Blaine's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Cloathing and accoutrements for the Regiment against the ensuing Campaign, you are to repair immediately to Boston as the most probable place of furnishing yourself. Upon your arrival there, you are, thro General Heath (to whom I have written) to apply to the persons purchasing Cloathing for Continental use, for as much as will be Sufficient, and as you have the measures of your Men, have it made up as expeditiously as possible. For the Articles of Boots, Saddlery &ca. you are to contract yourself, and Genl. Heath will furnish you with the Money.

If the Continental Agents should not have the kind of Cloathing necessary and suitable to your purpose, you are to purchase them yourself on the best terms you can, and apply to Genl. Heath for the Amount.

That you may not be imposed upon on the one hand, or tend to raise the prices of Goods on the other, by giving more than is usual, you will apply to the Continental Agents for advice and direction in this Matter.

Altho' I have mentioned Boston as the principal place from whence you may expect to draw your supplies, you are not to overlook the different Towns in Connecticut, in many of which sadlery especially is to be obtained. You must be so well convinced of the necessity and advantage of being early in the Field, that I need not urge you to exert yourself in procuring the things necessary for that purpose. I am &ca.11

11. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICERS OF LIGHT DRAGOONS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, December 30, 1777.

Library of Congress

Sir: As you are appointed to retire from the immediate duty of your Regiment, in order to provide accoutrements &ca. to Equip it for the next Campaign. You are to observe that it will be necessary to enter into some agreement with the Officers of the other Regiments of Dragoons who go for the same purpose, that you may not interfere with each other in applications to Tradesmen, or the purchase of any necessaries which may be wanted by you.

In order to this, it will be best to nominate and agree upon the respective Towns in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia in which each of you is to apply and contract for the Articles wanted by you (unless where a Sufficiency of any Article can be manufactured to supply the whole) and as fast as you can procure a quantity which you judge worth sending, you will forward them to such place as the commanding Officer of your Regiment will point out to you.

You will also Endeavour during this Recess, to Enlist as many men as will fill your Regiment, and as the Equipment of Dragoons is very expensive and Desertion should be avoided, you will receive none but Natives of the Country, or Foreigners of approved fidelity in service, or such as can be particularly recommended to you.

As soon as the manner of providing Cloathing for your Corps is determined on, you will receive Instructions about it.

When you find it necessary you are to furnish the

Commanding Officer of your Regiment with an Account of what Money you want, which shall be forwarded to you.

I shall expect to be frequently inform'd by you of the Progress you make and the prospect you have of compleating the Business on which you are Detach'd.¹²

To COLONEL BENJAMIN FLOWER

Library of Congress

Head Quarters, December 30, 1777.

All the Continental Arms that are out of order are to be collected without delay, that they may be repaired and rendered fit for Service as speedily as possible.

Every workman that can possibly be engaged, is to be employed for this purpose, and in proportion as the Repairs are completed the Arms are to be packed in proper Chests, which are to be deposited in places of security.

A sufficient number of Arm Chests are to be provided, in order that the transporting of Arms from place to place may be rendered convenient and safe.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that the utmost diligence should be used in laying up an ample Store of Cartridges for the Service of the ensuing Campaign, and making every other necessary provision in your Department.¹³

12. In the writing of John Fitzgerald.

13. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COUNT PULASKI

Head Quarters, December 31, 1777.

You are to march the body of the Cavalry into Winter Quarters at Trenton, where you are to take the most effectual means for putting both men and horses in condition to act with vigour in the ensuing Campaign. Notwithstanding your distance from the Enemy and the apparent improbability of their forming any Enterprise against you, some degree of vigilance will be necessary to secure your Quarters from Surprise; this may be effected by such small patrols as will not make the Tour of duty come round too frequently, and break in too much upon the Repose of the men and horses, which is so essential to

Library of Congress

reestablishing them; the same Patroles may likewise be a safeguard to the Shipping laid up at Borden Town.

After you are well settled in Quarters, frequent Opportunities, in favorable Weather, are to be taken of perfecting the Cavalry in the most useful manoeuvres, even a Series of bad weather will not prove a total bar to the instruction of the men and horses, as they may at such times, perform the ordinary exercises of the Riding School, a proper house for which purpose you will provide immediately upon your arrival at Trenton. this kind of discipline will not occasion any greater exercise than is conducive to the health of both men and horses.

The men are to keep their Arms in the best Order, and the Sadlers to keep the Saddles and Bridles in constant Repair; if any Regiment be without a Sadler the Commanding Officer of it is to procure one with proper Tools, upon the best Terms he can make.

The Colonels are commissioned to provide their Regiments with Cloathing and Accoutrements. All that can be done with respect to these Articles under your eye, is that the Officers require their men to make the best of what they have, by repairs.

You will have sufficient time for training a Troop of Lancemen, and the Lances may be made according to your directions on the spot. No pains should be spared to inspire the men with an affection for their horses, and make them perfect in the management of them. These important ends can only be gained by great attention and assiduity in the Officers. You must therefore strictly prohibit all Wandering from Quarters.¹⁶

To COLONEL THEODORICK BLAND

[December, 1777.]

Library of Congress

Sir: I have received your three Several favours of this day. I have Spoken to the Commissary and forage Master, who have promised to take the proper measures for furnishing you with supplies in their respective Departments.

You will be pleased to send all Captn. Lee's troop that remain behind with the Regiment, to join the detachment now with him, and you will also return immediately to him, whatever

16. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

men he may send with prisoners, or on any other errand. He is so enterprising and useful an Officer that I should wish him not to be Straitened for the want of Men. I am etc.²⁰

To THE OFFICERS ORDERED TO REMOVE PROVISIONS FROM THE COUNTRY NEAR THE ENEMY

[Headquarters, December 15?, 1777.]

In Congress, December 10, 1777.

Resolved. That General Washington should for the future, endeavour as much as possible to subsist his Army from such parts of the Country as are in its vicinity and especially from such quarters, as he shall deem most likely to be subjected to the power or depredations of the Enemy, and that he issue orders for such purpose to the Commissaries and Quarter Masters belonging to the Army.

That General Washington be directed to order every kind of Stock and provisions in the Country above mentioned, which may be beneficial to the Army, or serviceable to the Enemy, to be taken from all persons without distinction, leaving such quantities only as he shall judge necessary for the maintenance of their families: The Stock and provisions so taken to be removed to places of security, under the care of proper persons to be appointed.

Library of Congress

Extract from the proceedings of Congress.

20. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

Sir: You will perceive by the foregoing Extracts, that it is the direction of Congress, that the Army should be subsisted, as far as possible, on provisions to be drawn from such parts of the Country, as are within its vicinity and most exposed to the ravages and incursions of the Enemy. Also, that all stock and provisions which may be liable to fall into the Enemy's hands and which would be serviceable to them, except such a part as shall be absolutely necessary for the maintenance and support of the families to which they may belong, should be removed to places of security under the care of proper persons.

You are therefore, forthwith and upon all future occasions, to comply with their views, as far as it may be in your power, and in a particular manner, you are to exert yourself to draw from the Counties of Bucks, Philadelphia and Chester every Species of provision you possibly can. You will also extend your care to such parts of Jersey, as are near the City of Philadelphia, and in like manner to the Counties in the Delaware State, and to obtain from these several places all the Supplies you can. Besides drawing provisions, you are to remove from such parts of all the before mentioned Counties as may be subject to the depredations of the Enemy, the Stock and Grain of every kind which would be Serviceable to them, to places of security under the restriction and exception above mentioned; keeping a just and exact account of the number, quantity, quality and value, and of the persons

to whom they belonged, in order that the owners may be paid a reasonable and equitable compensation for the same. These duties are important and interesting, and it is expected will have your pointed attention, as a regular discharge of them will not only contribute to the more easy support of our own Troops, aid our supplies from the more interior parts of the Country, but also will distress the Enemy, and prevent that injurious and pernicious

Library of Congress

intercourse too prevalent between them and a number of disaffected Inhabitants. I am
&ca.28

28. The text is from the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress. The resolve of December 10 was forwarded in a letter from the President of Congress on December 12 and acknowledged by Washington on December 15. (See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Dec. 14, 1777, *ante*.) Presumably Washington wrote the above letter to the officers at once.

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING AT ALBANY, NEW YORK

Head Quarters, January 1, 1778.

Sir: I have been informed that a number of broad swords and other Horse accoutrements taken in the course of the last Campaign are deposited at Albany; if this be the case you are to deliver those Articles to Colo. Sheldon or his order, for the use of the Brigade of Light Dragoons. I am, etc.29

29. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

To COLONEL JAMES INNIS

Head Quarters, January 2, 1778.

Sir: The Continental Forces from Virginia being at present in a Situation, that requires the exertion of some Officer in that State, to collect together the reinlisted Soldiers of the old Regiments, as well as the recruits and Draughts intended to complete those and

the Six additional Battalions, you are, while in Virginia, in aid to any Superior Officer who may be there with Instructions to pay particular attention to the recruiting Officers and those who returned with the reinlisted Soldiers. Hold frequent correspondence with them, and give them such Instructions from time to time as the Interest of the Service may

Library of Congress

appear to you to require. You will endeavour to inform yourself of the nature of the Draught Act, and the particular mode pointed out by it to complete the 15 Regiments. Assemble as many of the Draughts as possible and expedite their march to Camp under proper Officers. If it be by any means practicable get the Soldiers Clothed, in the Uniforms of their respective Regiments, particularly use your every effort with the proper persons, to provide each man with a good Blanket, and Shoes.

A particular Resolve of Congress was passed some time since, recommending to the different States, that proper Officers should be appointed in each, for the purpose, not only of recruiting cruiting but, apprehending Deserters; to the latter, I must urge your most active exertions, and if it has not already been done, that you will order proper Officers on that duty, without loss of time, to collect such as may not voluntarily have come in, or otherwise be secured. Your own knowledge of this matter will at once strike you with the necessity of paying the utmost attention to it, and relying on your activity with the aid of others, shall rest Satisfied, that some effectual step will be taken.

If any thing material is done by you, in

consequence of these Instructions, I shall expect to hear from you.⁴²

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM BRENT⁴³

Head Quarters, January 2, 1778.

Sir: You are to proceed to Williamsburg as expeditiously as you possibly can. You will apply to His Excellency the Governor and the Honorable the Council and take their advice on the most speedy mode for apprehending the Deserters from the Regiment to which you belong, A return of which you have with you. You will also apply for the residue of the men to Complete the Regiment previous to It's march from Williamsburg. Regulate the Instructions you may give to the Officers of your Corps in Virginia by the Directions you may receive from His Excellency the Governor.

Library of Congress

Visit the Sick left by the Regiment at George Town, York and Lancaster, and send such of them as are fit for duty to the Regiment. You will make frequent reports to Colo. Gibson, or the Commanding Officer of your Regiment of what you have done and what there is a probability of your being able to effect.⁴⁴

42. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

43. Of the First Virginia State Regiment. He was colonel of the Second Virginia State Regiment from May, 1778, to February, 1781.

44. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

To CAPTAIN DAVID HOPKINS⁴⁵

Head Quarters, January 2, 1778.

Sir: Being appointed by Colo. Moylan to procure Clothing and Accoutrements for the Regiment against the ensuing Campaign, you are to repair immediately to Boston as the most probable place of furnishing yourself. Upon your arrival, you will see Major Blackden, who has similar Instructions with these; with him you will determine on your manner of proceeding on this business, that you may not by any means interfere with each other. In order that you may effect the purport of your errand there the better; I have written a Letter to Genl. Heath, through whom you are to apply to the persons purchasing Clothing for Continental use, and of them you will receive the necessary quantity. Which done, you will either forward the Articles in the State you receive them, or have them made up as you see proper, and most for the benefit of the Regiment.

The Articles of Boots, Sadlery &ca. you are to contract for yourself, and Genl. Heath will furnish you with the money.

Library of Congress

If the Continental Agent, should not have the kind of Clothing necessary and suitable to your purpose, you are to purchase them yourself, on the best terms you can, and apply to Genl. Heath for the amount.

That you may not be imposed upon on the one hand, or tend to raise the prices of goods on the other, by giving more than

45. Of the Fourth Continental Dragoons. He was a major in the First Continental Dragoons in 1780; served to close of the war.

is usual, you will apply to the Continental Agents for advice and direction in this matter.

Altho I have mentioned Boston as the principal place from whence you may expect to draw your supplies, you are not to overlook the different Towns in Connecticut, in many of which Sadlery especially is to be obtained.

You must be so well convinced of the necessity and advantage of being early in the Field, that I need not urge you to exert yourself in procuring the things necessary for that purpose. I am, &ca.⁴⁶

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 3, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been regularly favoured with yours of the 28th. and 30th. of December, and of the 1st. instant. I congratulate you upon the prize that has fallen into your hands, and the more so as she turns out more valuable than you at first expected. That her Cargo may be removed and secured with all possible expedition, I have sent Colo. Biddle⁵¹ to assist you, he will take down with him all the Waggon that can be spared from the Camp and will impress all that he can find upon the Road. Your first object should be to get them from the Water side, some short distance into the Country, from whence they may

Library of Congress

46. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

51. Col. Clement Biddle.

be removed back, more at leisure. You and Colo. Biddle may settle that matter.

The prisoners may as well be sent first to Lancaster, from whence Mr. Boudinot the Commissary will order them to such place as he thinks proper. The Women had better be allowed to go to Philadelphia when you have got all matters secured. I suppose they have got Husbands there.

I approve of your plan of bartering Hides for dressed Leather and having it worked up into Shoes. The Rate at which the Commy. of Hides disposes of them is 5 lb. Raw Hide for 1 lb. tanned Leather. When you send Officers to collect your straglers they should be particularly careful to bring down the tradesmen. No more well Men need be left at any of the Hospitals than are sufficient to tend your own sick, and if any of them have got employed in any other way, it is without my orders, and your Officers have my allowance to bring them to their Regiments.

Inclosed you have a Copy of the Resolve of Congress for trying by a Court Martial any persons taken carrying supplies to the Enemy. If any of those who have fallen into your hands, are in your opinion proper objects, you will deal with them as the Resolve directs.

Colo. Biddle carries down with him some of the proclamations calling upon all persons within 70 Miles of the Army to thresh out their Grain in limited times under certain penalties. Be pleased to have some of them set up in the most public places.

I am obliged to you for your promise of the prize

Wine. I do not imagine you will find more liquor on Board than will be sufficient for your little Garrison; but if the Quantity should be any thing considerable, you must not be

Library of Congress

forgetful of the poor fellows who are exposed to the severity of the Weather in very indifferent Houses, indeed many of them are not yet under Cover.

I have advanced the paymasters of two of the Maryland Regiments Money on account of the pay due to them. This I have done because I think Soldiers should not suffer on account of the irregularity of their Officers. But I must tell you that there are no Pay Rolls in the whole Army so little attended to as those of Maryland, and I most earnestly wish that you would endeavour to oblige both Paymasters and Captns. to do their duties, settle their Public Accounts and proceed regularly in future. I am, &ca.52

***To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES**

Valley Forge, January 4, 1778.

Sir: Your Letter of the 8th. Ult. came to my hands a few days ago; and, to my great surprize informed me, that a Copy of it had been sent to Congress, for what reason, I find myself unable to acct.; but, as some end doubtless was intended to be answered by it, I am laid under the disagreeable necessity of returning my

52. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

answer through the same channel, lest any Member of that honble. body, should harbour an unfavourable suspicion of my having practiced some indirect means, to come at the contents of the confidential Letters between you and General Conway.

I am to inform you then, that Colo. Wilkenson, in his way to Congress in the Month of Octobr. last, fell in with Lord Stirling at Reading, and, not in confidence that I ever understood, inform'd his Aid de Camp Majr. McWilliams⁵⁴ that General Conway had written thus to you,

Library of Congress

Heaven has been determined to save your Country; or a weak General and bad Counsellors⁵⁵ would have ruined it.

Lord Stirling from motives of friendship, transmitted the acct. with this remark.

The inclosed was communicated by Colonel. Wilkinson to Majr. McWilliams, such wicked duplicity of conduct I shall always think it my duty to detect.

In consequence of this information, and without having any thing more in view than merely to shew that Gentn. that I was not unapprized of his intrieging disposition, I wrote him a Letter in these Words.

Sir. A Letter which I received last night contained the following paragraph.

In a Letter from Genl. Conway to Genl. Gates he says, "Heaven has been determined to save your Country; or a weak General and bad Counsellors would have ruined it."

I am Sir &ca.

Neither this Letter, nor the information which occasioned it, was ever, directly, or indirectly communicated by me to a single Officer in this Army (out of my own family) excepting

54. Maj. William McWilliams, aide to Lord Stirling.

55. Washington starred this word "Counsellors" and wrote at the bottom of the page: "** One of whom, by the by, he was."

the Marquis de la Fayette, who, having been spoken to on the Subject by Genl. Conway, applied for, and saw, under injunctions of secrecy, the Letter which contained Wilkenson's information; so desirous was I, of concealing every matter that could, in its consequences, give the smallest Interruption to the tranquility of this Army, or afford a gleam of hope to the enemy by dissensions therein.

Library of Congress

Thus Sir, with an openness and candour which I hope will ever characterize and mark my conduct have I complied with your request; the only concern I feel upon the occasion (finding how matters stand) is, that in doing this, I have necessarily been obliged to name a Gentn. whom I am perswaded (although I never exchanged a word with him upon the Subject) thought he was rather doing an act of Justice, than committing an act of infidelity; and sure I am, that, till Lord Stirlings Letter came to my hands, I never knew that General Conway (who I viewed in the light of a stranger to you) was a corrispondant of yours, much less did I suspect that I was the subject of your confidential Letters; pardon me then for adding, that so far from conceiving that the safety of the States can be affected, or in the smallest degree injured, by a discovery of this kind, or, that I should be called upon in such solemn terms to point out the author, that I considered the information as coming from yourself; and given with a friendly view to forewarn, and consequently forearm me, against a secret enemy; or, in other words, a dangerous incendiary; in which character, sooner or later, this Country will know Genl. Conway. But, in this, as in other

matters of late, I have found myself mistaken. I am, etc.⁵⁶

[N.Y.H.S.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL LACHLAN McINTOSH

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 5, 1778.

Sir: The Plan proposed by the Field Officers of your Brigade is Similar to what is adopted by some New England Corps, does them Honor, and is approved of. You are therefore, as soon as possible to make up the 1st. 2d. and 3d. Battalions of No. Carolina, as nearly equal as Conveniently may be, from the Non Commissioned Officers and privates of the other Regiments of that State, and order all the Commissioned Officers of the vacant Regiments upon the Recruiting Service without delay, that they may if possible [under the advice and direction of their Governor] be able to fill their Regiments and join the Army

Library of Congress

early the next Campaign. They are to use their utmost exertions to pick up all deserters and other stragglers belonging to the Continental Army wherever they may be found and the better to effect these purposes, they are to request his Excellency the Governor of No. Carolina, that he will be pleased to give every Assistance in his power, and fall upon some effectual measures to fill up expeditiously the Quota of Troops from that State in which its own Honor and that of the Continent is so much concerned. And assist in Clothing their Troops as other States have done which

56. The draft in the *Washington Papers* is in Washington's writing, the variations being those of punctuation only. Another copy, by Washington, is in the *Papers tithe Continental Congress*.

prevents desertions and saves many useful Lives.60

To MAJOR PETER SCULL

Valley Forge, January 5, 1778.

Sir: A few days ago I received your Favor of the 27th. Ulto. I wish it had been on any other Subject than that of your resignation, and am extremely sorry the situation of your affairs should have made such an application necessary. I must request, Sir, if it can be done, that you will not entertain an idea of it. It is no time for Officers of merit in which class I consider you, to leave the Army. I know that the Service has been less honorable, and attended with more distressing circumstances to the Officers, than I could have wished. These I hope will in a great measure be shortly removed, and that a reform and some regulations will take place, that will make the condition of the Officers more agreeable and Commissions much more desirable than they have yet been. At any rate, I would wish you to decline the measure, till you see what Establishments may be come into.

I am much obliged by your assurances of personal attachment and am, etc.61

Library of Congress

60. The draft is in the writing of Lieut. Henry P. Livingston, Washington added the phrase in brackets.

61. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To COLONEL WILLIAM MALCOM

Head Quarters, January 6, 1778.

Sir: I have received your Letter of the 4th. Instt. When you reflect how lately you joined the Army. What indulgencies you have had, and how long you were at and in the Neighbourhood of your Home, after your appointment, you cannot be surprised, that I disapproved your application for a Furlough and with some degree of displeasure.

It has been a custom with several Officers to resign of late when Furloughs could not be granted them consistently with the good and demands of the service. This practice you seem to wish to pursue; I therefore inform you, However anxious I might have been before for your continuance in the Army, that if you can obtain liberty from Congress to resign, to whom it will be necessary to apply, that you will meet with no difficulty with me.⁶² I am, etc.⁶³

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 7, 1778.

Dear Sir: The inclosed to Govr. Johnson,⁷⁰ on the subject of

62. Malcom continued in the service until his regiment was consolidated with Spencer's in April, 1779. He afterwards served as deputy adjutant general of the Northern Department and colonel of New York levies.

63. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Library of Congress

70. Gov. Thomas Johnson.

compleating and Cloathing the Troops of Maryland, is left open for your inspection. After reading, be pleased to seal and transmit it to the Governor with the returns for which I have referred him to you.

The Officers in this Camp are anxious to come in for a share of the Baggage taken in the prize Brig. That justice may be done to all, I propose that the whole shall be sent here, opened, inventoried, and every Officer have a proportion, provided there be sufficient; but if there should not be enough for all to have a full proportion, the Officers of your Division who were the captors ought, I think, to have a preference. That they may not imagine that any injustice is intended towards them, by having the whole brought here, I would have you inform them, that my principal motive for bringing them is to secure them and I would have you send an Officer from each of your Regiments to assist in opening and taking an account of the Goods, and after that is done drawing a proportion for your Division. The Arms, Tents, and other Stores should be sent back into the Country, from whence they may be removed to a place of perfect safety. If there are any Soldiers Shoes and Stockings, I suppose some of them may be immediately necessary for your Troops, but I beg you may detain as few of the Shoes as possible, as they are much wanted here and we have no great probability of getting them, whereas I imagine you will have a better chance of procuring them in the part of the Country where you are.

Whether these Goods will be Sold by Auction, or delivered to the Officers at a moderate appraisement, I do not yet know, but I think the latter will be best, as bidding upon each other will raise

the price and of consequence tend to depreciate our Money. Neither do I know, what Congress will deem a compensation to the Captors.

Library of Congress

We are in the greatest want of Blocks and Falls to raise the Bridge over Schuylkill, the Timber is all cut and ready to put up. Inclosed you have a list of such things as are wanting, and if the Brig which you have taken will afford them, I beg they may be immediately sent off. We expected them from Bordentown, but we have been disappointed, and the Work stands still.

There are some small matters which I want particularly for my own use, I have mentioned them in a private Letter to you. I am, &ca.⁷¹

INSTRUCTIONS TO BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY KNOX

Head Quarters near the Valley Forge, January 8, 1778.

Sir: I have thought proper to give you the following Instructions relative to the Ordnance Department under your command. My wish to have so essential a Department of the Army in the best order the next Campaign induces me to desire that no time may be lost in getting every thing forward with the utmost expedition.

As the short enlistment of the Artificers have been, and still may be, productive of bad consequences, you are to enlist

71. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

for the War, or during the pleasure of Congress, all the different Artillery Artificers necessary to carry on the different branches of Work at Carlisle and Springfield, upon the best terms; the whole to be on one establishment as to pay, Rations, Clothing, &ca., so as to be formed into as many Companies as shall be necessary for their good Government, and consistent with Oeconomy.

The Laboratory Companies at Carlisle and Springfield to be augmented to one hundred Men each.

Library of Congress

You are hereby authorized to procure and collect such Ordnance Stores as shall be wanted for next Campaign, and to form Magazines of fixed Ammunition, at such places as shall be pointed out to you. But before any Stores are procured, you are to give notice to the Board of War of the intention and manner of doing it, in such season, that if it should interfere with any measures formed by them it may be prevented in time.

The Ordnance Departments are to be fixed on a proper plan, without loss of time, if any thing, is yet wanting to render them more complete. Carlisle, Lebanon and Springfield to be the Magazines.

The Stores and Artillery not essentially necessary in Camp, to be transported to Lebanon. Perhaps it may be best to deposit some of the Stores at an intermediate distance.

If there is not every reason to believe that the business of the Laboratories will go on with expedition at Lebanon and the other places, materials should be ordered to Camp, and each

Regiment employed in making and storing Musket Cartridges. At all events, I think this would be proper, as a store of them cannot be hurtful to us.

All the spare Arms should be inspected and thoroughly repaired; too many hands nor too much vigilance cannot be used in this business, as it is to be hoped that the augmentation of the Troops will render them necessary in the Spring.

At the opening of the Campaign a travelling Forge for each Division will be necessary to keep the Arms in repair.

The Artillery at Portsmouth must be brought forward to Springfield; and that at Albany, except what may be necessary for the Troops on Hudson's River, to Lebanon, or in the State of Pennsylvania.

Library of Congress

The Artillery allotted for the field and reserve, in your Estimate, I think amply sufficient; but a new arrangement of the Army may make some change necessary.

You are to procure as many Waggoners as will be necessary for the Artillery, to be inlisted for the War, on such terms as shall be given to you by the Quarter Master General.

You are to give an estimate of the Number of Horses, and such other things for the Artillery as will probably be wanted, to the Quarter Master General.

I think the following will be a proper arrangement of the Battalions of Artillery, and the Number of Men to be furnished by each State in addition to those already raised, and I shall accordingly recommend it to Congress.

Each Company to consist of sixty men, Officers included.

Men. Virginia, Harrison 10 Companies 600 Maryland 2 120 720 12 Pennsylvania, Procter 8 present 251. wanting 229 480 Jersey, Clark and Randall 2 present 55. wanting 65 120 Lee, Porter and Jones 2 present 95 wanting 25 120 720 12 Connecticut &ca. Lamb present 399. New York, Bauman and Doughty 2 present 73 wanting 47 120 New Hampshire 2 120 Rhode Island 1 60 Wanting in the whole 21 720 Massachusetts, Crane 12 present 497 wanting 223 720 2880

You are to procure Cloathing for your Corps, provided it does not interfere with any arrangements made by the Clothier General, to whom you are to write on the Subject.

You will make a particular report of your doings to me as soon as may be convenient.

N. B. Let the Articles of Tents be particularly attended to and a large number provided.⁷⁴

⁷⁴. In the writing of Samuel Shaw.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY KNOX

Library of Congress

Valley Forge, January 8, 1778.

Dear Sir: In addition to the Instructions I gave you to day, I beg may be added that of providing a number of Gunscrews for the purpose of drawing Ball. I conceive this to be a matter well worthy of attention, will prevent the disorderly firings in our Camp, and be a considerable public saving.

If they are to be made, Let them be stout and Substantial, but I recollect something of a large importation of these from France. If they are to be had, the expence of making will be saved.

Let me know whether the Artificers in the Artillery line are to prepare the Travelling Forges, and what Waggon for Ammunition, and other purposes we are to depend upon them for, that the Qt. Mr. Genl. may regulate his Department accordingly. I am, etc.⁷⁵

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN GLOVER

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 8, 1778.

Sir: As the short time we have to lay in Winter Quarters ought to be spent in training the Men, and endeavouring

75. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

to bring them into the Field in a more regular manner than they have hitherto been, I must desire that you will join your Brigade as soon as possible; in order to effect this measure. I have another reason, which is, that so many of the Brigadiers and Colonels commandant, who have been long absent from their Families, have been under the necessity of going home to look into their private affairs, that there are scarce Officers Sufficient to do the Camp Duties, much less to make a proper arrangement, should the Enemy move out against us.

Library of Congress

I desire you will bring on all detachments from your Brigade that may have been left at any of the posts which they have been at during the last Campaign, or that may have recovered in the Hospitals. I am, etc.⁷⁶

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JEDIDIAH HUNTINGTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 8, 1778.

Sir: I desire you will immediately detach a proper Officer from your Brigade with orders to bring forward all the men that may have been left upon command at the posts where the Brigade has been stationed, and who have recovered in the

⁷⁶. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. This same letter was also sent to Brig. Gen. Ebenezer Learned. In John Glover's *Memoir* this letter is printed with the following postscript: "Send on all officers whose Furloughs have expired, or who are absent without leave."

different Hospitals to which they have been sent. If any of the Men left at the Elaboratories have become expert at the Business and therefore useful in preparing Ammunition and Military Stores against the next Campaign I would wish they may remain, but all the others who are fit for duty are to be brought on without delay. I am, &ca.

To COLONEL SAMUEL BLATCHLEY WEBB

Valley Forge, January 8, 1778.

Sir: I was this Evening favoured with your Letter of the 29th. Ult. I had heard before of your unfortunate expedition and Captivity,⁷⁷ and not without concern.

It would give me pleasure to render you any services in my power, but it is impossible for me to comply with your request, without violating the principles of Justice and incurring a charge of partiality. You are sensible, that we have several Officers now in Captivity

Library of Congress

with the Enemy of your rank and of Lt. Colo. Campbell's⁷⁸ rank, who have been in this unhappy situation much longer than you. Some taken when Genl. Thompson was defeated at the Three Rivers early in 1776. Others at Long Island in August following. Others at Fort Washington and a

77. Webb had been taken prisoner in an attempt on Long Island in December, 1777.

78. Lieut. Col. Archibald Campbell, of the Seventy-first Foot, British Army.

further number at the Battle of German Town. These Gentlemen would surely exclaim loudly against my conduct and with reason, were any distinctions to be made by my concurrence or authority to their prejudice. So far as Exchanges have depended on me, or as they may rest with me, they have been and ever will be conducted on one principle, to wit, To release those first, who were first captured, as far as circumstances of rank would apply. There is no other rule by which equal and impartial justice can be done. I know there have been some Exchanges contrary to this Rule, but they were not made with my privity, consent or approbation. In a Word, you may rest assured, when ever circumstances will put it in my power to effect your Exchange and that of all the Officers and privates, under the restrictions I have mentioned, there shall not be a moments delay on my part; but on other terms, or in a different order, you will find on reflection, I can never do it. Suppose yourself for an Instant an Officer taken at any of the above periods, you would consider it an injury, a wrong, an act of high injustice done you, If one captured the 10th. of December last of your rank was exchanged before you. Perhaps on your return, you may have interest enough with your Acquaintances to obtain your release on parole, but you cannot do this on a principle of having an Officer sent in on the like indulgence, the objections to an enlargement on parole out of due course in such case, being the same as to an Exchange. I am, etc.⁷⁹

79. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 9, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have your favs. of the 17th. and 25th. of December. At the time of your writing, Genl. Burgoyne could not have recd. my letters, which were dated the 17th. and 20th. of December.

Colo. Webb wrote to me himself upon the subject of his Exchange, to which I have given him an answer.

I beg you will carefully forward the inclosed Letters to Brigadiers Glover and Learned. They contain orders for them to join their respective Brigades, with which they are much wanted.

I am glad to hear that considerable quantities of Cloathing have been purchased on the general account of the Continent, and I hope these supplies, in aid of what each State will furnish for its particular Troops, will relieve the Army from the extreme distress which they have been in for covering.

Be pleased to deliver the inclosed Letter to Baron Stuben who I imagine waits at Boston for my answer. I am, etc.⁸¹

[MS.H.S.]

To BARON STEUBEN⁸²

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 9, 1778.

Sir: I yesterday received the Honor of yours from Portsmouth,⁸³ inclosing the Copy of a Letter from Messrs. Franklin and Deane, the original of which I shall be glad to receive from your own Hands, as soon as it is convenient for you to undertake the Journey.

Library of Congress

As it will lay solely with Congress, to make a suitable provision for you in the American Army, you will be under the necessity of prolonging your Journey, in order to lay before them at

81. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

82. Frederick Wilhelm Augustus Henry Ferdinand, Baron von Steuben.

83. Steuben's letter, undated, is filed under Jan. 8, 1778, in the *Washington Papers*.

York Town, the honorable testimonials which you bear of your former Service.

I return you my thanks for the polite manner in which you express your desire of serving under me, and have the Honor, etc.⁸⁴

84. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, January 12, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 10th. My order to you to have the Baggage removed to this place, was founded upon [information] that there was a much greater quantity than there turns out; but as it proves otherwise, you were right in detaining it, till you represented the matter to me. I wish the Gentlemen who drew up and signed the representation⁹⁵ had attended more closely to my Letter. They would have found nothing in it tending to rob them of their right, whatever that might prove to be.⁹⁶ The Officers of this part of the Army [who are suffering from Cold, want of Houses and every other convenience] only wanted an opportunity of furnishing themselves with many Articles of which most of them stand in as much need as the Gentlemen of your Division, [who are in comfortable Quarters] possibly can do. These they meant to pay for, so that if the whole Value had been adjudged to the Captors, the amount would have been ready for them.

Library of Congress

I am sorry that the Gentlemen, in the Course of their representation have been led into some very unmerited Reflection upon the Officers of this part of the Army, by supposing, that an unjust anxiety in them to possess those things to which they have not even a pretence of title as they say would prompt them to persuade me to do an act of injustice. I hope, upon a Review of the Matter they will acquit them of any such intention.

95. The remonstrance of the officers of Smallwood's division is dated Jan. 10, 1778, and signed by 11 officers (2 colonels, 3 lieutenant colonels, and 6 majors). It is in the *Washington Papers*.

96. The Varick Transcripts at this point has the following which does not appear in the draft "I did not even pretend to determine the matter."

I desire you will communicate as much of this letter to them as respects their Representation, and assure them that as I never did, so I never shall shew an undue partiality to one part of the Army in preference to another. But that still upon the most dispassionate View I cannot think their reasonings in favour of an exclusive Right altogether admissible.

There were some Resolves of Congress passed at the commencement of this dispute,⁹⁷ for settling the mode of disposing of prizes, but as I have not those Resolves by me, I cannot precisely determine what they are. I have wrote to Congress and stated the present Case [as you will see by my Letter sent thro yr. hands to Congress wch. you will please to seal and forward by express] and desired their determination, which will serve for a Guide in future. In the mean time, the Baggage may be exactly inventoried and delivered out to the Officers of the division at a just appraisement, and an exact account kept of the Amount, that the distribution may be made, when the determination of Congress is known, in whatever way they may direct. What are properly called Military Stores, may remain as they at present are. As for the Brig, I think she ought to be sold as speedily as possible, to the highest bidder; she will bring more now, when there is chance of running

Library of Congress

her out, than she will do in the Spring, when the River will be full of Ships of War. Besides if a detachment from the Enemy should oblige you to move your post, she will be inevitably lost. By this mode of proceeding the Captors will have justice done them, whether they shall be intitled to the whole or part of

97. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Oct. 14, 1777.

the prize in question.

As I imagine the Vessel at Reedy Island was taken by private adventurers, all we can do, is to purchase the property suitable for and wanted by the Army from the Captors at a reasonable price. I would therefore have them secured for the public and receipts given to those who appear to you to have the right, expressing the quantity and quality of the Goods, that they may apply to the Commissaries and Cloathier General for payment of the Articles in their respective departments. If Waggons can be got below, they should be immediately moving towards the Army.

I send you the Articles of War with some amendments since the first edition.

The intrenching Tools were ordered long ago and I thought had gone, but I have again ordered the Qr. Mr. General to do it and you may depend upon having them directly. I am, &ca.⁹⁸

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES POTTER

January 12, 1778.

Sir: I have duly received your favour of Yesterday, and observe serve the pernicious tendency which may arise from a continuation of the intercourse between the City and Country in

Library of Congress

98. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

order to prevent which, you are hereby instructed to take the most immediate and Coercive measures. I should gladly know who the Officers are, who act so directly contrary to my inclination and express commands, in granting passes for the purpose of taking Provision into the City.

I must repeat my desire, that you will adopt the most vigorous means (if nothing less will do) to put a stop to this practice; In the execution of which you shall have every necessary support from me. Major Jamison (I'm sure) will give you every assistance in his power.¹

The Commissary of Purchases will, in a few days, go over to the Counties of Bucks and Burlington for the purpose of purchasing Beef and Pork from those, who will agree to take Continental Currency; from the others, there will be a necessity to take these Articles, where it is known they can be spared, and allow them a Reasonable price, it is unnecessary to request your Assistance in this matter, as I know you will afford every Aid in your power.

The Bearer will deliver you my Proclamations² which you will distribute as you see proper. I am, &ca.³

1. On January 12 Lieut. Col. John Fitzgerald informed Maj. John Jameson, by order of Washington, that a stop was to be put to the intercourse between Philadelphia and the country. It had been reported that Jameson's dragoons, on picket duty, could be bribed to permit provisions to go into the city. Fitzgerald also warned Jameson of a report that the British intended an attempt on his dragoon pickets. Fitzgerald's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

2. The proclamation of Dec. 20, 1777, *ante*, respecting threshing of grain, *q. v.*

Library of Congress

3. The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

To DOCTOR BENJAMIN RUSH

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 12, 1778.

Sir: I have been favoured with yours of the 26th. Decemr. and soon after the receipt I had an opportunity of communicating the substance of it and one from Govt. Livingston on the same subject to the Director General. It is to be regretted that a Department for which such ample provision has been made, and on which so much depends, should yet be inadequate to the Ends proposed. If the present medical establishment is as you say a bad one, no time ought to be lost in amending it, and those Gentlemen who have had an opportunity of trying it for a twelvemonth, are certainly best able to point out the defects. From the peculiarity of our circumstances we cannot expect to be as well furnished with the necessary apparatus of an Hospital as we ought to be; but still I believe we might do much better if more order and discipline was observed by the patients. Upon hearing of the many irregularities committed by them I have lately ordered a discreet Field Officer to visit the principal Hospitals and endeavour to establish a proper

discipline.

Among the many necessary reforms in the Military line, I suppose that of the regulation of the Hospitals will be considered. I shall always be ready to contribute all in my power towards rendering the situation of these unhappy people who are under the necessity of becoming the inhabitants of them, as comfortable as possible. I am, etc.⁴

To MAJOR GENERAL ROBERT HOWE

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, 22 Miles from Philadelphia, January 13, 1778.

Library of Congress

Dear Sir: I had the pleasure of receiving your favours of the 2d. and 3d. of November by Genl. McIntosh who arrived very opportunely to take the command of the North Carolina Brigade, which had wanted a Brigadier very much since the Fall of Genl. Nash.

The account you give of the Number of Indians in the Southern Tribes, far exceeds any thing that I had an idea of, and it therefore behoves us the more to cultivate their friendship. But I hope, that as the means which our oppressors have hitherto used to stir up the Savages against us have been rendered fruitless, that they may in the like manner be disappointed in future thro' the activity and address of our Agents and the Generosity of the public who must purchase

4. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

their Neutrality, at least.

It would in my opinion be in vain to apply to the States of North Carolina and Virginia to allow the Officers of South Carolina and Georgia to recruit among them, As it has been found, upon trial, that those States cannot furnish their own Quota of Continental Troops. If the Enemy should make any disposition towards a southern expedition, a detachment from the Continental Army and a Body of Militia from the Neighbouring States will undoubtedly be ordered to your assistance.

You will, long before this reaches you, have had the Satisfaction of knowing that Congress have conferred that Rank upon you which you claimed as your due, and which you complained had been unjustly detained from you. I imagine, from the time at which your promotion took place, that it has been in consequence of your own representation to Mr. Hancock of the 2d. of June.

Military operations seem to be at an end for the Winter. Sir William Howe is fixed in Philadelphia, and we have, by dint of labour and exposing the Troops to the utmost severity of the Season rather than give up the country to the ravages of the Enemy,

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established a post at this place, where the Men are scarcely now covered in log Huts, having hitherto lived in Tents and such temporary Shelters as they could make up. The want of Clothing added to the rigor of the Season has occasioned them to Suffer such hardships as will not be credited but by those who have been spectators. I am, &ca.12

12. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Head Quarters, January 13, 1778.

Dear Sir: Since writing to you this morning on the subject of the prize Brig Symetry, the Regulations of the Field Officers of the division for conducting the Sale and disposing of the Cargo was laid before me with a Letter from the Regimental Surgeons and Mates to Doctor Cochran. These Gentlemen feel themselves so much hurt by the discrimination made by these Regulations between them and the Officers of the Division that they have sent in their Resignations.

As the common Guardian of the Rights of every man in this Army I am constrained to interfere in this matter and to say that by the regulations a manifest injury is intended not only to the Gentlemen in the medical line, but to the whole Staff, who, provided the prize should be adjudged the sole property of the Captors (a matter in my opinion not easily to be reconciled on principles of equity or reason) have undoubtedly as good a right to become purchasers in the first instance and to all other priviledges as any Officers in the division.

For these Reasons therefore I desire that you will not proceed to a Sale or Distribution of any of the Articles, except the Vessel fill you have my further directions, and that you will as early as possible transmit me an inventory of the Baggage and Stores. The Letter to Congress is nevertheless to go on and you will please to forward it as speedily as possible. I am, &ca.13

Library of Congress

13. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. In the letter sent, which was in the possession of the late F. B. McGuire in 1892, the last clause reads "you will please to forward it by the first Conveyance."

To COUNT PULASKI

Head Quarters, January 14, 1778.

Sir: Your Letter of the 9th. Instant was delivered to me Yesterday, and I immediately acquainted the Forage Master General with such parts of it as related to his Department. If proper Magazines for the Subsistence of the cavalry cannot be formed at Trenton this is an insurmountable obstacle to their quartering there, and they must of necessity be removed to Flemington or some other convenient place in that neighbourhood, where the proper supplies can be obtained. But if the only objection to Trenton be a little difficulty that may at first occur in procuring the most desirable Quarters for the Officers and Men I would not have any time lost in seeking farther, the Barracks and the Town together will certainly furnish ample Quarters for the Galley Men and the Cavalry. The latter may with more propriety be billeted on the Inhabitants, in order to have their Horses immediately under their eye.

As so much has been said of the Character and abilities of Mr. Crovatch,¹⁵ I have no objection to his being engaged in the capacity of Exercise Master for a few months; at the same time I must caution you against a fondness for introducing foreigners into the Service; their ignorance of the Language of the Country and of the genius and manners of the people, frequently occasion difficulties and disgusts which we should not run the risque of,

15. Michael de Kowatz. He became commandant of the lancers of Pulaski's Legion, and was killed before Charleston, S.C., in May, 1779.

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Unless it be in favour of extraordinary Talents and good Qualities. I shall give orders to the Quarter Master to employ the Armourer at Easton for the Service of the Cavalry, provided he has not been previously engaged in any other way, by the Commissary of Military Stores.

I must postpone any decision with respect to the Horses, until the arrival of the Committee of Congress, as I am in daily expectation of those Gentlemen. I hope you will not be long kept in suspence, if you can in the mean time, engage the Owners to keep their Horses on the spot, you will take every proper step for that purpose. I have no objection to your making Trial of the abilities of Mr. Betkin¹⁶ as Brigade Major for the present, it will soon be discovered whether he is equal to the Office. I am, &ca.¹⁷

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 15, 1778.

Dear Sir: In a letter from you of the 25th. Octobr. last, you informed me that twenty three Boats had been saved from the Enemy, besides what were up Esopus Creek, the number of which you did not then know. You at the same time informed me that you should have those put into repair that wanted it, and set the Carpenters at work to build new ones. I shall be glad to hear in your next what number

16. Henry Bedkin. He was a Pennsylvanian; had been adjutant of the Fourth Continental Dragoons and was appointed a captain in Pulaski's Legion in April, 1778; served to the close of the war.

17. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

you have at present upon the River and of what kinds.

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I shall be glad to know whether any thing is now doing or whether any thing of Consequence has yet been done towards repairing the Works and replacing and compleating the obstructions in the North River. Genl. Gates was ordered by Congress to superintend that Business, but as he was so soon after appointed to the New Board of War I imagine he never did any thing in it. By a letter from Genl. Parsons of the 29th. December, I find he was in Connecticut upon a visit to his Family by your licence. I therefore suppose you will have postponed your own Visit till his Return.

I shall be glad of the Return of the Troops at Fishkill &ca., called for in my last. I am,
&ca.²⁵

P.S. Be pleased to forward the inclosed to Springfield.²⁶

To BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY KNOX

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 15, 1778.

Dear Sir: Should it be thought expedient to draw a Body of Men together early next Spring, it will be necessary for us to know previously what number of Arms we could have ready for such an emergency. I have desired Colo. Flowers to make me a return of all at the Magazines under his immediate direction, and have wrote to the Commissary at Springfield to do the like. You will

25. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

26. The letter to be forwarded to Springfield was addressed to Ezekiel Cheever, Commissary of Military Stores of the Continental Army, requesting immediate returns of arms and accouterments at Springfield. This letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

Library of Congress

On January 15 Tilghman wrote to Lieut. Col. Benjamin Flower, by Washington's direction, for an exact return of all the arms in the different magazines. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

be pleased to make the proper inquiry for such as may be in Boston and any other places in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, have them collected and properly deposited and a Return of them made to me as soon as possible. There may probably be quantities of Arms laying up and down useless at present for want of repairing; be pleased to endeavour to have them collected and put into a way of being fitted up.

I shall be glad to hear what steps are taking to recruit the Army, and of any other matters that relate to the Service. I am, etc.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL SAMUEL HOLDEN PARSONS

Valley Forge, January 16, 1778.

Dear Sir: Three days ago I received your favour of the 29th. Ulto.

I had heard before of Colo. Webb's²⁷ misfortune thro various channels and by Letter from himself; and having written to him fully upon his request to be exchanged, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon the subject. I shall therefore briefly observe, that I could not consent to it without doing injury to the Officers who have been much longer in Captivity, and subjecting myself to a charge of injustice and partiality.

I am sorry to find you have thoughts of leaving the Army. I hope you will consider the matter well and the consequences which such a procedure may involve. Besides the loss of your own services the example might have a disagreeable influence on other Officers. The discontent prevailing in the Army, from various causes, has become but too prevalent, and I fear, unless some measures can be adopted to render the situation of the Officers more comfortable than what it has been for some time past that it will increase.

Library of Congress

The depreciation of our Money, the difficulty of procuring necessaries and the exorbitant prices they are obliged to pay for them, when they can be had, are among the causes of dissatisfaction. Whatever your determination may be, I am persuaded you will not remain an idle Spectator, or be wanting in your exertions to promote the Cause. If you persevere in your wishes to retire, you must apply to Congress, as they only can give you permission.²⁸

I wrote some days ago to Govr. Trumbull respecting the deficiency in the Quotas of Men which ought to be furnished by the States, and of the necessity of filling them. From the polite and obliging attention which the State of Connecticut have ever had to my representations and their earnest desire to promote the Service, I am encouraged

27. Col. Samuel Blatchley Webb.

28. Parsons retired in July, 1782.

to hope, that they will pursue every measure in their power that will contribute to that end. While you are at Hartford you will do well to throw your weight into the scale, being persuaded that our successes the next Campaign will depend much upon our early operations, and on our taking the Field with a respectable force. I am, etc.²⁹

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, January 17, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have received your favour of this morning containing an extract of a Letter written by Colonel Ramsey on behalf of the Field Officers at Wilmington. Their apology Sir, is sufficient to do away every thing disagreeable that has past on the subject and to induce me to attribute their incautious expressions to the causes which they mention.

Library of Congress

You will communicate this to the Gentlemen by the first convenient opportunity and believe me to be, etc.³⁰

29. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

30. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

To BARTRAM GALBRETH³¹

Head Quarters, January 17, 1778.

Sir: Mr. William Smith, is employed in the Continental Service as Deputy Waggon Master, Josiah Kittara as Waggon Conductor, William Smith Junior as Sub Conductor, and Thomas Edwards and Amos Evans as Waggoners, the Certificates of their being attached to the Continental Army in these Capacities will be delivered to you by Mr. Wm. Smith, who goes in behalf of the rest, and as it cannot be the intention of the Legislature to treat persons of this description in the light of Delinquents, I have no doubt that upon receipt of this you will acquit them from the Fines to which they have hitherto been considered as subject under the Militia Act. I am, etc.³²

To BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE WEEDON

Head Quarters, January 18, 1778.

Sir: As the time of Service of part of the Virginia Troops has already expired, and many more will shortly petition for discharges upon the same claim. It will be necessary for the

31. Lieutenant or sublieutenant of Lancaster County, Pa.

32. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

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Brigadiers and Commandants in that Line, to meet, and come to some determination with respect to the mode of doing it. I have therefore to request that you will take such steps, and precaution as will put it out of the power of any man to obtain dismissal, who is not justly entitled to it, and that you will look forward to the number of Troops that will remain and the Officers necessary to command them. I am, etc.³⁹

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOSEPH ELLIS

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 18, 1778.

Sir: I am glad to hear by yours of the 15th. instant, that you have been appointed to the Command of the Brigade late Newcomb's.⁴⁰ From the Character given of you by Genl. Greene, I have every reason to expect that nothing will be wanting on your part to excite a proper Spirit among the people, and to give the most effectual opposition to any parties of the Enemy who may attempt to ravage your Coast. If the State has no Ammunition belonging to it, you must send an Officer to me, with an account of the Quantity wanting, and I will supply you.

39. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. The same letter was sent also to Brig. Gens. William Woodford, Peter Muhlenberg, and Charles Scott.

40. Of New Jersey Militia.

I think when the Army came from Morris Town, we left two Iron four pounders there belonging to Jersey. You will therefore send an Officer to inquire for them and to bring them down to you if he finds them there. But lest they should have been removed, I inclose you an Order on the Commissary of Military Stores at Allen Town in Northampton County, for two Iron four pounders with fixed Ammunition for them. You should inquire what is done with the light Iron Guns that were removed from Red Bank, if you can find any of

Library of Congress

them that will suit you, you had better get two of them fitted up and only send for the fixed Ammunition to suit them from Allen Town, this will save much trouble.

Altho it will be inconvenient to the Inhabitants of Burlington, Gloucester and Salem to remove their Stock back, I would still have you do it as effectually as possible, or the Enemy will certainly make a sweep of them one day or another. What are proper for Beef, the Commissaries will take off their hands and for the others I should think it would be in the power of every farmer to carry back some forage for them.

I have nothing to do with the appointment of the Staff in the Militia, more than of any other Officers, and therefore cannot interfere. I should suppose you had better yourself appoint persons who are suitable and get them confirmed by the Governor. I am, &ca.⁴¹

41. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. On January 18 Robert Hanson Harrison, by direction of Washington, replied to Capt. Henry Lee's letter, in which Lee reported that an officer of the Anspach regiment (German troops in Philadelphia) was willing to bring off 300 of them provided he was promised command of them. The General wished Lee to manage the matter very cautiously. Both Harrison's and Lee's letters are in the Washington Papers.

To LIEUTENANT WILLIAM PATTERSON⁴²

Head Quarters, January 18, 1778.

Sir: General Knyphaussen having obtained a passport for Quarter Master Major Kitz to go to Fredericksburg in Virginia with a Serjeant and Servant and a Waggon with Clothing and necessaries for the Hessian Officers at that place; In order that the same may be safely conveyed, and that no irregularities may attend the execution of this Business, you are to proceed with all convenient expedition with the said Quarter Master Major Kitz, with the Clothes and necessaries he has in charge, by the most direct route to Fredericksburg, or to such other place or places as the Hessian Officers may be at. After he shall have

Library of Congress

executed his business, you are to return with him, and to make report of your arrival when you come within the neighbourhood of this Camp, that such further orders may be given respecting him as may be necessary.

You are to receive of the Pay Master General Two hundred Dollars, out of which you are to defray your own expences, and you are to keep an exact account of the same and to take proper Vouchers, that an account may be settled and adjusted on your return.⁴³

42. Of Grayson's Additional Continental regiment.

43. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To MAJOR GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 20, 1778.

Dear Sir: Inclosed you will receive a Commission, by which you will find, that you are restored to the rank you claim in the line of the Army. This I transmit by direction of Congress and in pursuance of their Resolution of the 29th. of November.⁵⁶ The situation of my papers and the want of Blank Commissions prevented me doing it before.

May I venture to ask, whether you are upon your Legs again, and if you are not, may I flatter myself that you will be soon? There is none who wishes more sincerely for this event than I do, or who will receive the information with more pleasure. I shall expect a favourable account upon the subject. And as soon as your situation will permit, I request that you will repair to this Army, It being my earnest wish to have your Services the ensuing Campaign. In hopes of this, I have set you down in an Arrangement now under consideration, and for a Command which I trust will be agreeable to yourself and of great advantage to the public.⁵⁷

I have nothing of importance to inform you of in the Military line, that is new or interesting. The Enemy still remain in possession of Philadelphia and have secured themselves

Library of Congress

by a strong chain of Redoubts, with Intrenchments of communication from Schuylkill to Delaware. We on our part have taken post on the West side of the former, about twenty miles from the City, and with

56. This commission is now in the *Washington Papers*.

57. Arnold, with Lincoln, was then in Albany, N.Y., recuperating from the wound received at the Battle of Bemis Heights, Saratoga.

much pains and industry have got the Troops tolerably well covered in Huts. We have to regret that we are not in more comfortable Quarters, but these could not be found unless we had retired to the Towns in the more interior part of the State; The consequences of which would have been, distress to the virtuous Citizens of Philadelphia, who had fled thither for protection, and the exposure of a considerable tract of fertile Country to ravage and ruin. I am, etc.⁵⁸

To MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 20, 1778.

My Dear Sir: By the inclosed Copies of two Resolutions of Congress you will perceive that they have restored Genl. Arnold to the rank he claims. in the line of General Officers, and have directed me to grant him a Commission for that purpose. This I have done, and he will receive it by the conveyance by which this goes.

From your peculiar situation, and being one of the Officers within the operation of the Resolves, I have been induced to communicate the matter to you⁵⁹ I am too sensible, My Dear Sir, of your disposition to justice and generosity, of your wishes to see every Man in the possession of his rightful claim, not to be convinced that you will chearfully acquiesce in a measure calculated for

58. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Library of Congress

59. Lincoln was then in Albany, N.Y., recovering from the wound received in the fighting around Saratoga.

that end. In the instance before us, General Arnold is restored to a violated right, and the restitution I hope, will be considered by every Gentleman concerned, as I am sure it will by you, as an act of necessary justice.

May I hope that you are recovered of your wound, and if you are not, that you will be soon? There is none who wishes more sincerely for this event, than I do, or who will receive the information with more pleasure. I request that you will write me upon the Subject, and let your account be favourable and pleasing. As soon as your situation will permit, I shall be happy to see you, it being my earnest wish to have your Services the ensuing Campaign. In hope of this, I have set you down in an Arrangement now under consideration....⁶⁰ I am, etc.⁶¹

⁶⁰. The omitted paragraph is practically the same as the last paragraph in the letter to Maj. Gen. Benedict Arnold of the same date as this letter, *q. v.*

⁶¹. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID FORMAN

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 20, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have not yet received an answer respecting the Guard for the Salt Works Solicited in your Memorial. Till you hear further from me upon the subject, you may detain a Captain, two subalterns and Sixty men of the detachment of your Regiment now in Monmouth, for the purpose of Guarding the works, the remainder be pleased to send forward to Camp with Captain Combes,⁶² with whom be pleased to send the Cloathing of those men who are already here. I am, etc.⁶³

To COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON

Head Quarters, Valley Forge, January 20, 1778.

Sir: I received yours of the 13th. instant last Evening, and have immediately written to Govr. Livingston upon the Subject. I make no doubt but the prosecution will be immediately stopped upon my representation of the matter in its true light, and of my pointing out the impossibility of getting persons to undertake this kind of Business in future, if they are not protected by us. I am, &ca.⁶⁴

62. Capt. John Combes (Combs), of Forman's Additional Continental regiment.

63. The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

64. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.